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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SAN DIEGO, TEXAS: MEMORIES MEDIA AND MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE SITE OF AN IRREDENTIST REBELLION

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by

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Dedication

To Eliseo Omero and all the People of San Diego: past, present and future.

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Plan de San Diego is the name of an important document in Texas history, but the document and surrounding history is usually discussed with little or no reference to the town of San Diego, Texas, the people who lived there, or the cultural landscape. The Plan de San Diego is an unsuccessful rebellion that is one of the few documented irredentist revolts in U.S. History, it is also a written document calling for return of lands in a multi-ethnic call to arms advocating the recovery of territory by people of Mexican descent in 1915, named for the town San Diego, TX. After the discovery of this Plan, Mexican-Americans were persecuted, violently suppressed, and murdered: 300-5,000 people of Mexican descent died violently following the discovery and publication of the Plan de San Diego in what historians have called the "Bandit Wars". San Diego, Texas residents and the entire U.S.-Mexican borderlands changed after the discovery of the Plan. My research investigates the political landscape and changes in material and cultural assemblages during and after the Plan, examining how descendant communities retained ties to place and remembered this event in the community of San Diego. Archival research, Historical archaeology and media representations of San Diego explore expose the everyday lives, settlement patterns, and subsistence strategies of the residents of San Diego before and after 1915, showing the material and social effects of the failed rebellion. The socio-political landscape that helped create Mexican-American culture in San Diego is a silenced, violent, and misunderstood chapter of Texas history that shapes the current borderlands and contributes important insights into the study of sites of rebellion and retaliation worldwide.

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The arrest

It was just another stop: Basilio Ramos Jr. was a Mexican-born Texas resident, and while the exact reason Tom Mayfield stopped him that day was not made explicit, this scenario illustrates the implicit tensions of border life and the racially charged social interactions at the United States-México border. Tom Mayfield was not a sheriff, he was working as a vigilante agent in collaboration with the sheriff's office in McAllen, Texas. What we do know is that Basilio Ramos Jr. was arrested and held in the Hidalgo County Jail, and while the exact reason for this incarceration is not made clear in the court documents, this arrest typifies the balance of power and race that defines this borderland (United States, and Albert B. Fall United States Senate, 1919-1920). The Río Grande valley is where México stops and the United States begins, though there is no marked topographic or cultural divide there. Basilio had a job and a life waiting for him north of the Río Bravo, or Río Grande as it is now known in Texas. "Whispering" Tom Mayfield (Johnson, 2006) was exercising the power of Hidalgo County, his privileges as a white, United States native, man, and what he perceived were the rights and laws of his nation. Neither man could have known the far reaching effects of this arrest: thousands of murders, thousands of pages of court and congressional proceedings, newspaper headlines and sweeping new laws. How could they have foreseen the varied media representations and stereotypes that would be shaped and re-enforced by this chance meeting or the ramifications on people's day-to day lives on both sides of the border for decades to come?

To be fair, Basilio had just gotten out of jail in México, it had been just a few weeks after his release when he was stopped by Tom Mayfield on United States soil (Sandos, 1992). Crossing the river into Texas, Basilio was following the path that millions of other Mexican-born workers have traveled. His destination was the small town of San Diego, Texas. Basilio was employed by the local Royal Beer distributorship out of Oklahoma, he was a member of the local workers' union and a freemason, he frequented a bar on Victoria Street where international guests drank and occasionally made political speeches (Coerver, 1984). In many ways Basilio was a typical immigrant making his life in a new place. The city of San Diego was different from the city of McAllen on the Río Grande where he was stopped: San Diego was a smaller town on the Texas Mexican Railway and it had a predominantly Mexican descent, American citizen population.

The border had been moved when Texas seceded from México, but the people who lived in this community had not. San Diego is a border town even though it is about 90 miles from the actual border, because it is situated at the beginning of the United States and the edge of the *Frontera* and the historically disputed Nueces strip, located inside the United States border patrol surveillance zone, just past the second border patrol checkpoints. There was a school that Mexican American students attended, there was a local Spanish language newspaper, and there was not, and had never been, a white majority population in San Diego. In contrast, McAllen had a relatively new majority white population, new irrigation systems that allowed the sandy soil to be agriculturally productive, and clear social and economic divisions between Mexicans and Euro-American immigrants (Menchaca, 2011). When he was arrested, Basilio was carrying two sets of documents: one assuring him safe passage through northern México, the other was a strident manifesto calling for ethnic minorities in the Unites States to join together for

liberation from oppression and murder all the Anglo settlers over 16 years of age (Sáenz, 1999). Together these documents warranted his arrest.

At first, the local judge suggested Basilio "ought to be tried for lunacy, not for sedition against the United States" because the plan Tom Mayfield found in his pocket read as so preposterous to everyone in McAllen, that it seemed the only thing to do (Heber-Johnson, 2003, p. 74). To understand the situation in the case of The United States vs. Basilio Ramos, we have to understand the border and the history of Mexican Americans in the United States. Basilio was not a civil rights worker, and the papers in his possession were not a product of the right of free speech. While the documents could have been considered a violation of the Alien and Sedition acts of 1798, those acts have never been tried by the Supreme Court of the United States, and besides, was this immigrant traveling beer salesman an agent of sedition? Were these papers, this "Plan de San Diego" a serious us threat? Were the law enforcement officials going to take this plan seriously, a plan that had Mexican Americans, African Americas, Asian Americans and Native Americans marching together under a white banner that read Freedom and Equality?

The Judge and Grand Jury doubted that this immigrant was really the author of this complex plan that drew from international socialist rhetoric and called for multi-ethnic freedom from oppression. Basilio's bail was lowered from the initial $5,000 to $100 (Sandos, 1992, pp. 213-215). His only crime seemed to be carrying documents, albeit preposterous ones, that was more of a reason to commit the bearer of these documents to a mental institution rather than launch into a full scale sedition investigation. The charge of lunacy seemed more appropriate as, in 1915, Mexican Americans were not allowed to exercise the right of free speech. Mexican Americans were technically citizens of the United States after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, but the Jim Crow era of segregation and anti-immigrant sentiments on the border with the country that they were tied to by

geography, culture and recent annexation did not afford Mexican Americans equal rights (Montejano, 1987).

The discovery of the Plan de San Diego started a series of events that continues to influence the United States and México today. This dissertation explores the silenced but significant irredentist Plan de San Diego, a document that shaped the history of the United States and México. The focus of my research is the city of San Diego itself, through the archaeology of rebellion between 1910 and 1920. Other scholars of this border rebellion have focused on the influences of local and regional elected officials like José Tomás (J. T.) Canales (Heber-Johnson, 2003) or international political figures such as Ricardo Flores-Magón and Mexican President Carranza (Harris C. H., 2013). I hope to address the silence surrounding the Plan de San Diego with oral histories from the descendant communities coupled with material archaeological findings to show the lived experiences of possible signers of the Plan. The Plan de San Diego had an explosive impact on Tejanos, United States policy and the Mexican Revolution (Sáenz, 1999). In order to understand the horrific events that followed the discovery of the plan, and shed light on an unknown 20th century genocide or as Arnoldo de León called it the *Matanza*, the people of San Diego have stories that need to be told so we can understand how they lived (De León, 2012). Walter Prescott Webb called the massacres that followed the discovery of the Plan an "orgy of bloodshed" and estimates a death toll of up to 5000 Mexicans and Mexican Americans, though an accurate figure may never be uncovered due to poor documentation and the discovery of multiple skeletal remains with evidence of murder for years after the Plan (Webb, 1965, p. 478).

The Plan forged the ethnogenesis of Mexican Americans and is still shaping the borderland and relations between ethnic groups in Texas and the United States. The Plan was discovered in 1915, in the Río Grande valley, and was tied to different attacks on the

border during the next few years, but the influence of the document went far beyond the United States-México border as news of this Plan was picked up by the United States and Mexican Media. The story of the Plan de San Diego has taken many turns since its discovery: it is cited as resistance by Mexican American studies, and included in United States WWI espionage and conspiracy theories about German and Japanese spies, and it is quoted by current right-wing political pundits as a reason to block all Latino immigration. The Plan de San Diego is firmly part of international socialist and anarchist movements, a formidable piece of political writing, and it was an unprecedented transgressive multi-ethnic call to arms to unite Mexican Americans, African Americans, Native Americans and Asian Americans to fight against economic and social suppression and reclaim lands taken by United States expansion demanding autonomy and self-governance for all oppressed citizens.

The Plan calls for outright violence and shows the influence of international anarchist thought, but the direct roots of this plan are found in the socio-economic landscape and recent murders of Mexican American elected officials in San Diego, and the discontent of residents with the social and political injustices that surrounded them. Most authors debate who wrote the Plan de San Diego, and how it affected state community and race relations in general. But, scholars have avoided analyzing the effects of the Plan's discovery in the place that inspired it. In many ways the story of the Plan de San Diego is like a mystery novel, there are investigations by the courts and United States' Congress that turned up other leads, wild conspiracy theories and international espionage. The Plan occurred on the eve of WW1 and the story is replete with mysterious us foreign characters that appear in the archives and disappear leaving more questions than answers, this was also a time that many Mexican Americans wanted to leave the United States to escape the war and the draft. The Plan was also written during the Mexican Revolution, and the fear

of a populist uprising spreading to Mexican Americans was tremendous during this time. It was this backdrop of political instability and rising inequality that led to the Plan de San Diego and other protests. Texas and United States officials named many possible authors and blamed other border raids and attacks on the irredentist Plan, but those connections are red herrings that other authors have followed, ignoring the clues on the ground in San Diego and south Texas.

Approaching the authorship of the Plan de San Diego as a mystery, we have to follow the research of other historical sleuths that have looked at the Plan, the wording of the Plan itself, and the clues on the ground and in the stories of the city of San Diego including the untapped oral histories and archaeological evidence about the lives of Mexican Americans in this community. This mystery will follow the varied and biased clues in the media coverage of the events, the congressional testimonies of "expert" witnesses, the death tolls and other archival evidences of the aftermath of the discovery of the Plan and recreate life in the turn of the century border town. Some facts are indisputable, the Plan was found in McAllen, Texas the aftermath included the murder of up to 5,000 Mexicans and Mexican American civilians in Texas by the Texas Rangers and United States army and vigilantes (Heber-Johnson, 2003). Mass deportations and legal sanctions such as immigration quotas followed the discovery of the Plan and it also marked the beginning of the red scare in the United States. This investigation follows the court of public opinion about the Plan de San Diego in the media, and looks at unexplored aspects of this event such as the material and cultural landscape of San Diego and the border region in 1915 through the embodied choices and the short and long-term effects to households in San Diego after the abortive rebellion through census and archival research. Uncovering the stages of this genocide from its inception in the annexation of Texas and post-Civil War Texas, through the lynching and mass murder of ethnic Mexican descendants to the

writing of polarizing laws and media representations will piece together borderland experiences at the turn of the century and life in San Diego after the Plan.

There are limits as to what the historical narrative based solely on official records can show, so this investigation focuses on the unanswered questions about the racialized border and the effects on the ground in San Diego. Michel-Rolph Trouillot noted "What happened leaves traces, some of which are quite concrete -buildings, dead bodies, censuses, monuments, diaries, political boundaries -that limit the range and significance of any historical narrative" (Trouillot, 1995, p. 29). Through archives, households and media documents I will illustrate daily lives of San Diego residents, adding details to the accepted narrative about the border annexation and Mexican Americans during the turn of the century. Detailing businesses, homes, and other material remains will illustrate what happened in and around San Diego and reflect the reality of life in Texas in this historical moment and show how San Diego is not included in the official historical places and archaeological sites lists. Tracing the material remains to the people's lives in this place of rebellion will give insights to the multiple narratives of nation, race, capitalism and citizenship embedded in the story of the Plan de San Diego.

Congressional hearings

In 1919, four years after the discovery of the Plan de San Diego, senators elected to the United States Congress met under the name of *Investigation of Mexican affairs: Directing the committee on foreign relations to investigate the matter of outrages on citizens of the Unites States in México* (United States, and Albert B. Fall United States Senate, 1919-1920). The Plan de San Diego and people surrounding it became key parts of the testimony that fueled interventionist policies at the end of the Woodrow Wilson's

presidency. The chairperson of the committee was Albert B. Fall of New Mexico, who during this time wrote a resolution calling for the United States to break off all diplomatic relations with México. Today, Senator Fall would have had to disclose his business interests in México, but in 1919 his 25 years of investments in México under the permitted under the Díaz regime including land and mineral mining operations did not recuse him from leading the three person committee. Fall was openly hostile to the Mexican Revolution, Mexicans, and Mexican Americans referring to them as bandits and other derogatory terms in his "investigation" (Wood, 1924). Fall's committee was the culmination of his campaign against Mexican president Victoriano Huerta, Pancho Villa, the Mexican revolution and his aim was to force change in President Woodrow Wilson's policies about México, hoping to regain the property he lost under the Mexican revolution.

His commission interviewed "experts" about the Plan de San Diego and investigated alleged crimes against Americans in México. The following text shows the secondhand nature of information about the Plan and reads the Plan into the congressional record, as it was read in the case against Basilio Ramos but after the many raids that were later tied to The Plan. The chance discovery if a written irredentist manifesto had become the driving force behind dehumanizing laws and a reason for organizing state sanctioned genocide, the use of militias and Texas Rangers and the possible invasion of México. The New York Times dubbed the committee "the Fall Committee" because it consisted of Senator Fall and other politicians who were demanding interventions in México. Senator Fall's other committee members were Republican Frank Brandegee from Connecticut, known as an "ultranationalist", and Democrat Mark Smith from Arizona who also shared Senator Fall's views on México (New York Evening Post, September 8, 1919). The committee complied thousands of pages of information on México, alleged crimes against Americans, and the Plan de San Diego.

The actual paper copy of the Plan de San Diego is not preserved, but the FBI has a telegram copy of one translation of the Plan. In the Department of Justice files, the precursor to the FBI, the federal agents complain in the notes that the first interpreters in McAllen took liberties with the translations. They list H.S. Hopkins and J.R. Herald of McAllen as the court translators. The case files translations were not circulated except within the Department of Justice investigation, and they differ from the Fall committee version of the Plan de San Diego (FBI, p. 2). The primary source, the Spanish language "El Plan de San Diego" found on Basilio Ramos has not been preserved, though a translation was entered as evidence against Ramos in his preliminary trial. The national archive holds only the Fall Committee translation. We do not know if the original was printed or handwritten, or what happed to the existing copies. Sandos lists a printed broadsheet found in Saltillo with the same name and a different preamble than either the Fall committee document or the FBI translation; this could have been a Spanish Newspapers reprint of the plan or a copy of the original:

> In Texas, [whites] have paid their workers with an unjustified race hatred that closes to the Mexican, the Negro, the Asian, the doors of the schools, the hotels, the theaters, of every public place; that segregates them on railroad cars and keeps them out of the meeting places of the "white skinned" savages who constitute a superior caste. Pre amble to the Plan of San Diego MANIFESTO*: ¡A los Pueblos Oprimidos de América! from the Congreso Revolucionario de San Diego, Texas, February 20, 1915, Concluidos 1916, caja 1, Archivo General del Estado de Nuevo León* (Sandos, 1992)

The first archival appearance of the Plan de San Diego in its entirety is in the United States congressional record of the Fall Committee. This plan that Tom Mayfield had taken upon himself to forward to state and national government officials he knew had traveled to the Capital of the United States and became the cornerstone of the "México Next" push by Senator Fall. Tom Mayfield was called as an expert in border issues at the Fall Committee.

Tom Mayfield was not a sheriff's deputy at the time of the arrest, but rather a self-appointed vigilante. He was called "Whispering Tom" because he had had his throat cut, after he abused Mexican ranch workers outside of Kingsville, he survived the attack, but was only able to whisper after that. Tom later appears in one biography of William S. Burroughs and is called "a mean son of a bitch" by the beat writer who had run in to him when he lived in McAllen in the 1940's (Johnson 2006, 123). Harris and Sadler call Tom Mayfield "Hatchet-faced" (Harris C. H., 2007, p. 215). The Department of Justice has records stating Mayfield did not arrest Ramos, but rather Deodoro Guerra, a Brownsville merchant, was the one who apprehended him (FBI, p. 4). Mayfield himself swore in testimony to the Fall Committee that he had apprehended Ramos, and that he had taken off from work as a Marshall to pursue raiders coming from México, spending weeks riding to México and back to pursue "bandits" when he apprehended Ramos. Note this border crossing was not legal, according to the treaties with México at the time, and that he was not at the time a Marshall or Ranger, but acting on his own volition.

Mayfield took it upon himself to forward this document to Washington, and this document served as the cornerstone for the congressional push to invade México and deal harshly with Mexican political refugees and Mexican Americans. Was Tom at the right place at the right time, and this document just happened to make it to Congress, or was the Plan de San Diego an actual threat? It is possible that the other rebellions in the borderlands had primed the United States and Senator Fall to fear the possibility of an uprising in Texas, due to the actions of lawmen like Tom the threat was amplified. This era of interventionist policies in the United States, followed Manifest destiny, genocidal American Indian policy and the segregated United States and the Jim Crow era borderlands. All the experts called to testify about the border were carefully chosen anti-immigrant or pro- Díaz Mexican citizens, or land speculators like Senator Fall. The informant who read the Plan into the

archival record, Mr. Valls, was ethnically Spanish, and a District Attorney from the Río Grande Valley who admitted his relationship with the Díaz regime was very close, familial in fact (United States, and Albert B. Fall United States Senate, 1919-1920).

EL PLAN DE SAN DIEGO

> *The CHAIRMAN: Will you examine this paper and state whether you can identify it as connected with this proposed plan of San Diego?*
> *Mr. VALLS: I will also state, Senator, that this man Basilio Ramos who originated this plan, when he returned to Nuevo Laredo, México, he was dined and wined by the government officials of that place.*
> *Senator SMITH: You say he was the author of this plan of San Diego?*
> *Mr. VALLS: Yes, sir; supposed to be the author. Yes, sir; I have, seen this before, it is just like the one I have.*
> *The CHAIRMAN: This is a copy then of the plan of San Diego under which these raids were made?*
> *Mr. VALLS: Yes, sir. .*
> *The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Clerk, read this into the record.*
> *(Thereupon the clerk read into the record the copy of the plan of San Diego, which is as follows :)*
>
> *PROVISIONAL DIRECTORATE OF THE PLAN (PLOT) OF SAN DIEGO, TEX., JANUARY 11, 1915.*
> *We, who in turn sign our names, assembled in the revolutionary plot of San Diego, Texas, solemnly promise each other, on our word of honor, that we will fulfill, and cause to be fulfilled and complied with, all the clauses and provisions stipulated in this document, and execute the orders and the wishes emanating from the provisional directorate of this movement and recognize as military chief of the same Mr. Agustin S. Garza, guaranteeing with our lives the faithful accomplishment of what is here agreed upon.*
> *1. On the 20th day of February, 1915, at 2 o'clock in the morning, we will rise in arms against the Government and the country of the United States of North America, one as all and all as one, proclaiming the liberty of the individuals of the black race and its independence of Yankee tyranny which has held us in iniquitous slavery since the remote times; and at the same time and in the same manner we will proclaim the independence and segregation of the States bordering on the Mexican Nation. Which are: Texas, New Mexico, Arizona,*

Colorado, and Upper California, of which States the Republic of México was robbed in a most perfidious manner by North American imperialism.
2. In order to render the foregoing clause effective, the necessary army corps will be formed under the immediate command of military leaders named by the Supreme Revolutionary Congress of San Diego, Tex., which shall have full power to designate a supreme chief, who shall be at the head of said army. The banner which shall guide us in this enterprise shall be red, with a white diagonal fringe, and bearing the following inscription: "Equality and independence," and none of the subordinate leaders or subalterns shall use any other flag (except only the white flag for signals)
3. Each one of the chiefs will do his utmost, by whatever means possible, to get possession of the arms and funds of the cities which he has beforehand been designated to capture, in order that our cause may be provided with resources to continue the fight with better success, the said leaders each being required to render an account of everything to his superiors, in order that the latter may dispose of it in the proper manner.
4. Every North American over 16 years of age shall be put to death, and only the aged men, the women, and children shall be respected; and on no account shall the traitors to our race be spared or respected.
5. The Apaches of Arizona, as well as the Indians of the Territory shall be given every guaranty; and their lands which have been taken from them shall be returned to them, to the end that they may assist us in the cause which we defend.
6. The movement having gathered force, and once having possessed ourselves of the States above alluded to, we shall proclaim them an independent republic, later requesting (if it be thought expedient) annexation to México, without concerning ourselves at the time about the form of government which may control the destinies of the common mother country.
7. When we shall have obtained independence for the Negroes, we shall grant them a banner, which they themselves shall be permitted to select, and we shall aid them in obtaining six States of the American Union, which States border upon those already mentioned and they may form from these six States a republic, and they may therefore be independent.
It is understood among those who may follow this movement that we shall carry in a singing voice the independence of the Negroes, placing obligations upon both races and that on no account will we accept aid, either moral or pecuniary, from the Government of México; and it need not consider itself under any obligation in this, our movement.
8. All appointments and grades in our army which are exercised by subordinate officers (subalterns) shall be examined (recognized) by the superior officers. There shall likewise be recognized the grades of leaders of other complots which may be connected with this, and who may wish to, cooperate with us; also those who may affiliate with us later.

9. None of the leaders shall have power to make terms with the enemy without first communicating with the superior officers of the army, bearing in mind that this is a war without quarter; nor shall any leader enroll in his ranks any stranger, unless said stranger belong to the Latin, the Negro, or the Japanese race.
10. It is understood that none of the members of this complot (or anyone who may come in later) shall, upon the definite triumph of the cause which we defend, fail to recognize their superiors, nor shall they aid others who, with bastard designs, may endeavor to destroy what has been accomplished by such great work.
11. As soon as possible each local society (Junta) shall nominate delegates: who shall meet at a time and place beforehand designated, for the purpose of nominating a permanent directorate of the revolutionary movement. At this, meeting shall be determined and worked out in detail the power and duties of the permanent directorate and this revolutionary plan may be revised or amended.
12. It is understood among those who may follow this movement that we shall carry in a singing voice the independence of the Negroes, placing obligations upon both races and that on no account will we accept aid, either moral or pecuniary, from the Government of México; and it need not consider itself under any obligation in this, our movement.
13. It is understood that none of the members of this complot (or anyone who may come in later) shall upon the definite triumph of the cause which we defend, fail to recognize their superiors, nor shall they aid others who with bastard designs may endeavor to destroy what has been accomplished with such great work.
14. As soon as possible each local society (junta) shall nominate delegates, who shall meet at a time and place beforehand designated, for the purpose of nominating a permanent directorate of the revolutionary movement. At this meeting shall be determined and worked out in detail the powers and duties of the permanent directorate, and this revolutionary plan may be revised or amended.
15. It is understood among those who may follow this movement that we will carry as a singing voice the independence of the Negroes, placing obligations upon both races, and that on no account shall we accept aid, either moral or pecuniary, from the government of México, and it need not consider itself under any obligations in this, our movement.

Equality and independence.
SAN DIEGO, TEX., January 6, 1915.

(Signed) L. PERRIGO, President.
A. GONZALES, Secretary.
A. A. SÁENZ,
E. CISNEROS,
PORFIRIO SANTOS.

A. S. GARZA.
MANUEL FLORES.
B. RAMOS, JR.
A. G. ALMARAZ (United States, and Albert B. Fall United States Senate, 1919-1920)

While the Plan called for the liberators to march under a "banner of freedom, equality, and liberty, following the "one-eyed teacher" or Agustin Garza, it also called for the killing of all white males over sixteen years of age. Later border raids by Aniceto Pizaña and others asked if the persons being held were of German ancestry and let the German settlers go, further complicating the meanings of this plan and the possible international connections of the Plan de San Diego, but not taking into account the large German descent population in Texas that predated Texas independence and statehood or the fact that there was anti-German propaganda in Texas at the same time there was anti-Mexican movements (Menchaca, 2011; Katz, 1981). The text of the Plan contains fantastic claims, biblical allusions and political satire along with designs for unprecedented multi-ethnic coalitions for democracy and representation. When the February 20th rebellion did not happen, the lower Río Grande valley braced for a possible revolution that never materialized. The retaliation of the Texas Rangers and United States Congress to this written rebellion was swift and fatal (Heber-Johnson, 2003, p. 181).

The rebellion did not occur as the Plan had said it would, but border raids tied to the revolution in México and abuses of Mexicans and Mexican Americans along the border did increase. The United States Cavalry, including some Buffalo soldiers, were posted in south Texas to patrol the border and both keep Mexican nationals out and Mexican Americans trying to escape the WWI draft in. There were also many internal political divisions within the Tejano or Texas Mexican descent community in reaction to the alleged plot. Before the Plan de San Diego, there had been other revolts and rebellions against *La*

Invasión Norteamericana (American Invasion) as the annexation of Texas, New Mexico, California, and Arizona, Colorado, Nevada and parts of Montana is known as in México and parts of these former states.

Transgressive revolts and rebellions such as Taos rebellion of 1847 (Weber, 1973), the Cortina Wars of 1859-1861 (Thompson, 2007) and the Catarino Garza rebellion of 1891-1893 (De León, They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900., 1983) added to the fears of new Euro-American Texas settlers and gave credence to the threats contained within the Plan de San Diego, but none of the other rebellions that came before had as many casualties or as explosive an impact as the aftermath of this written rebellion. The Plan de San Diego forced many Mexican Americans to fight for their rights, acting as a catalyst for the formation of Mexican Americans as an ethnicity. Heber-Johnson notes that the border populations of Mexican Americans were effectively a people without a nation, and the Plan de San Diego and the bloody aftermath forced them to choose one national identity and citizenship to survive.

San Diego as a place of rebellion

Rebellions are often marked by widespread fear, retaliation, and persecution, and the re-arrangement of the cultural landscapes, ethnic coalitions, and historical records. The annexation of Texas from México and the cultural landscapes of this important frontier have not been explored in depth, even though the west and frontier life has long captivated the collective imagination in the United States. Seventy years after Texas became part of the United States, during México's Revolution, a small town in the borderlands became a pivotal place between nations, between Latino and Anglo-American societies and gave its name to a failed and forgotten revolution that is often referred to simply as the "Bandit

Wars" by historians (Webb, 1965; Castañeda, 1976; Weber, 1973). Rolando Hinojosa-Smith called the Plan "scatterbrained" in a 1986 Texas Monthly, despite quoting the San Antonio Express report stating that genocidal murder after the Plan's discovery was so prevalent that: "finding the bodies of dead Mexicans had become so commonplace that it created little or no interest" (Hinojosa-Smith, 1986). The Plan de San Diego traveled to the highest officials of nations and every newspaper in-between, a journey that changed the landscape in Texas and the community that produced the Plan and gripped the nation. This dissertation examines the community of San Diego, Texas before during and after the Plan, elaborating on the ethnicities, subsistence strategies and material culture during revolutionary times through archival research, oral history and Archaeology showing how the residents adapted and changed the sociopolitical landscape of Texas and how this Plan set the stage for the current border situation.

This study proposes to speak both to the importance of historic archaeology and to the debate about Texas History and the formation of Mexican American identity. The various points of view in the media, legal documents and descendant community's stories will be discussed showing the complexities of the Mexican American political and military reality in turn of the century Texas. I will show through the polarizing media and political debates the events on the border and the conflict between ethnic groups as well as the ethnogenesis of Mexican Americans. I am using the labels Mexican and Mexican American, though that may not have been the way my subjects self-identified: it was their legal status as citizens of Mexican descent at the time. John Hartigan notes the mutability of identity in any time and place:

> Conceiving of subjects in terms of culture highlights the performative, relational, and situated dynamics that shape and are often recast by people's interpretations of their personal and collective circumstances. These situated circumstances as they reflect and combine local and global economic, political, and social flows

> often involve ambiguous, even contradictory constructions of meaning (Hartigan, 1999)

Andrés Reséndez also notes that times of conflict are especially good times to examine ethnic identity because of the ways groups are forced to invoke certain specific identities (Reséndez, 2005). It follows that the Plan de San Diego was a crystallizing moment in the formation of LULAC and Mexican American ethnicity from Tejano and Mexican roots. According to most historic accounts of the annexation of Texas and the Jim Crow era, the Mexican and Mexican American contributions are not included, even though they were a large percentage of the population, as Richard Flores notes in his study of the Alamo (Flores, 2002). I argue that the Plan de San Diego changed the course of state and national history, and also is visible on the ground in San Diego Texas through changes and continuities of identity, diet and housing of different ethnic groups in San Diego.

Before summarizing how this argument will be sustained over the course of this dissertation's chapters, I want to explain my choices of terminology and scope of this study. My choice of title, the archaeology of San Diego, Texas: memories, media and material culture of the site of an irredentist rebellion, show the conflict and the continuity of this site to the present. I chose to label the Plan de San Diego and its aftermath an irredentist rebellion because the Plan was calling for the formation of a new nation that could join México or be autonomously governed by Texas people of Mexican, African, Native American and Asian descent. Irredentist from the Italian, *Irredenta*, or unredeemed, referring to the late nineteenth century Italian border struggles, also means unrecovered. While the writers of the Plan clearly aligned politically with anarchist thought, the plan itself was an irredentist move to reunite ethnic groups separated by political borders that were historically and culturally related (McMahon, 1998; Chazan, 1991). The residents of Texas had seen at least four national political affiliations in the 19th century, the Plan de

San Diego called for a new autonomous State or States. The Plan was also an outgrowth of rebellion in México and a direct reaction to the intensifying racialized violence of Jim Crow. The Oxford English Dictionary definition of Irredentism is: "a policy of seeking the recovery and reunion of a region that is for the time being subject to another power" aligns with the history of the border region, and the implication of identity in the very nature of the rebellion shows the complex issues of identity in San Diego (Dictionaries, 2013).

Ethno-genesis, the formation of a shared identity based on how groups self-identify and how they are viewed legally is also a term I utilize to describe the formation of a Mexican American identity. I employ Ian Haney-López's legal definition of Mexican American as a shared racialized experience that spans multiple races and ethnic affiliations (Haney López, 1996) following scholars such as Martha Menchaca (Menchaca, 2001; Menchaca, Naturalizing Mexican Immigrants: A Texas History, 2011) and David Montejano (Montejano, 1987; Montejano, A Journey through Mexican Texas, 1900-1930: the making of a segregated society, 1982). In this paper I will also refer to Tejanos, a mixed ethnic group that spoke Spanish in Texas the first Mexican settlers, Mexicans, Native Americans and Euro-Americans. I emphasize shared experiences, though not all experiences are shared or identities employed by the groups, the inherent difficulty of studying identity is the fluidity of self-identification, so I will rely on legal, census and media labels to identify agents.

The time and space discussed in this dissertation are substantially coextensive with the period, places, and events known as borderlands, but I will discuss this frontier as Native American, Mexican and United States space. I adapt the term frontier from Arjun Appadurai in the introduction to *The Social Life of Things* as well as Lightfoot and Martinez's use in "Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective": combining

ethno-historical and archaeological terms to see the border as both a fringe area and a cosmopolitan center (Appadurai, 1986; Lightfoot, 1995). Until recently, most frontier narratives have been dominated by triumphalist narratives of Anglo, Spanish or Mexican conquest and settlement. The term frontier denoted shared pejorative conceptions about the nomadic and semi-nomadic indigenous groups that led to national myths about settling the 'empty' lands of México and the United States.

The goal of this research is to increase the available information about the lives of people who were directly and indirectly affected by the Plan de San Diego. The connections between the irredentist plan and the state of current border affairs cannot be overlooked in today's political climate, and as such, this study will also explore what is considered historic and worthy of preservation today amid the waves of anti-immigration sentiment this century. San Diego is significant to historical, borderland, and ethnic studies: this research will pave the way for future multidisciplinary studies combining archival research, ethno-history, and archaeology of sites of modern rebellion and revolution and genocide in the face of internal colonialism and economic suppression as we see today in Libya, Serbia, Egypt, and different countries in Latin America.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century published accounts have to be taken in context, and analyzed carefully for bias to understand what life was really like in San Diego. Most of the clues about daily life during the turn of the century on the border are contained in the very different Spanish and English language newspapers. The media coverage of the Plan reveals the racial and economic interplay that shaped the real landscape of Texas and the settlement patterns of different ethnic groups as well as community formation. As other eras of rapid social and economic change illustrate, this discovery of the Plan changed the socio-political landscape of Texas and how different

ethnic groups interacted and marked the beginning of an era of anti-Mexican legislation and public policy in Texas and the borderlands.

The media coverage leaves clues about thee changing social and spatial boundaries. "Good" Mexicans were differentiated from "Bad" Mexicans by the press and Congress. There were also portrayals of depredations on Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the United States, accompanied by exposes of the conditions in México including "slavery" of political prisoners and plantation working conditions. As racialized portrayals of Mexicans as violent and dangerous increased the historical distancing of the United States southwest from its Mexican roots solidified. This culminated in the Bolton's style of History that glorified the Spanish colonies and Native American pasts and ignored or degraded any connections the Southwestern United States had with México or Mexican Americans. The media representation of the border and Mexicans as violent coupled with the shift of the United States historical gaze to focus on the Spanish colonial legacy and exclude Mexican History and people changed the way many people self-identified, and shaped the etic and emic stereotypes and perceptions of people of Mexican descent.

Basilio Ramos, Agustin Garza, and the other signers and how they lived have to be examined in the micro-scale. Their stories and the stories of the lives lived in San Diego have not been told. Ramos and Garza in many ways typified Mexican immigrants and political refugees of the era. Both were educated in México, and had immigrated under the pressure of political and social changes in their nation, a common reason for immigration during this time. They continued to be politically active in the United States, were connected to other Mexican political refugees through the Spanish language papers and anarchist and socialist groups. We know they formed an IWW (International Workers of the World) group that borrowed with the freemasons as cosigners to open a bar, a bar where anti-Huerta, Díaz and Madero rhetoric flowed alongside the low priced beer (Sáenz, 1999).

Agustin Garza was described as a meek, one eyed man from Monterrey, México according to local informants. Garza was the teacher at the local school for Mexican Americans, he witnessed firsthand the segregation, and political oppression of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in San Diego, which led him to question the hegemonic racial and economic superiority of the Anglo Texans. I want to show how Agustin Garza and the other Plan de San Diego era residents of San Diego lived, what housing was available, what customs were employed and what stores sold at the time he lived in San Diego. Through an analysis of materials and place, I want to show lived experiences.

Catarino Garza, Agustin Garza and I are not directly related, but all have the Native American name *Garza*, a name first recorded with Native Americans in the Cerralvo, México area in 1715. *Garza* is the Spanish word for Crane, and many Jewish Spanish settlers chose the name Garza after immigrating to México, but numerous Native American groups were identified as "Garza" Indians by the Spanish explorers and priests especially around the Río Grande. Garzas, also called Carrizo, Yemé, Atanguaypacam or Miákan lived both in México and in Texas. A large number of Garza families were settled near Mier, México from 1756 until 1829, though they was never a formal mission set up for them they were visited by priests and entered the archival record there as noted by Galindo, Salinas and Maestas who analyzed the early *entradas* and records in those areas (Galindo, 2003; Salinas, 1990; Maestas E. G., 2003)[1]. Recently the Apaches in Duval have won

[1] Many residents of Mier and Guerrero moved to Duval County when Falcon Lake was created in 1953 because Nueva Ciudad Guerrero and the ranches around it were flooded. Earlier family ties between Duval and the Mier area have been shown through family genealogies and master's theses; many Duval residents came from Guerrero and Meir to the Rancheria del Norte or San Diego (Garza A., 1984; Perez, 2003). Jean Luis Berlandier passed through south Texas in 1828, and recorded at least two tribal names and twenty-one unique words recorded from the "chief of the Garzas" north of the Río Grande near Reynosa (Berlandier, 1980, pp. 143-144). Berlandier noted a unique language vocabulary when he met with the Garzas, and noted that while the Garzas all spoke Spanish, and were "acculturated" they were still speaking Native languages and continuing distinct cultural practices (Galindo, 2003, pp. 40,46-47,51; Salinas, 1990). Berlandier's notes have been analyzed by Marianne Mithun who places the Garza language in the extinct Comecrudan language family (Mithun, 2006, p. 395). The Garza Indians were also identified by T.N.

tribal recognition, in part through the scholarly work of Maestas, and are exploring their history. The indigenous, black and white roots of Texas Mexican Americans have not been explored in depth in Texas, and have been ignored or silenced in San Diego, partially due to the backlash of the Plan and the Jim Crow era of Texas.

This dissertation focuses on the lived experiences in Duval after Texas became part of the United States and Mexicans of all races nominally citizens became United States citizens, or Mexican Americans. My research also looks at the many other ethnicities that lived in San Diego prior to the discovery of the Plan, and how their descendants identify today. Being from San Diego I am tracing my community's history and filling in parts of the story of San Diego that shaped the evolution of the town and the larger Mexican American identity through the events surrounding the Plan de San Diego. The infamy that has haunted the town and people and influenced media and public opinion about this community did not start with the Plan de San Diego, however representations of the town during that time secured the community's violent reputation. Many United States scholars have studied the Plan de San Diego but ignored the city, and therefore ignored the people who could have written it. The people and family histories and historical power imbalances surrounding San Diego have to closely read through the micro-analysis of archival documents, material remains and media reports to see why San Diego residents were treated as unimportant, violent, or incapable of producing a sophisticated plan.

This introduction holds one translation of the Plan de San Diego and the first discovery of the irredentist plot. Chapter 2 introduces the physiographic and biotic landscape of San Diego, and traces the socio-political trajectory of the site from pre historic

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Campbell as one of several groups called Carrizo Indians, chiefly for the large reed piercings the men wore on their lips or chests, who were living around the Carrizo Springs area west of San Diego both north and south of the Río Grande (Campbell T. , 1959; Troike, 1962). Although all Garzas are not related, this is still a personal journey researching people who shared my name, and possibly shared similar family histories.

Native American lands to current Texan occupation. Chapter 3 reviews the published literature about the Plan de San Diego and the city of San Diego, as well as discussing accounts of the town in Mexican American studies and Texas History. Chapter 4 explores some of the irredentist revolts that preceded the Plan de San Diego, showing how these revolts, from Taos to Catarino Garza, set the stage for the Plan de San Diego scare and resulting genocidal actions against Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Chapter 5 summarizes the archival research undertaken in this dissertation, discussing some of the history of land grants, enumerating material goods and real estate available during the Plan, and examining the census for self-identification of residents. Cultural practices such as marriage, fiestas and funerary practices are also discussed. Chapter 6 follows one above ground archaeological deposit in the former García House through archival, oral and material lines of evidence, exploring the minutia of daily life in San Diego on the micro scale. Chapter 7 summarizes English and Spanish media accounts of San Diego. Chapter 8 calls for Mexican American archaeology to become a sub-discipline of archaeology, and shows how San Diego demonstrates a need for this sub-field. The appendices hold selected census data and the full inventory of the García house attic.

CHAPTER 2: SAN DIEGO, TEXAS: A PLACE BETWEEN NATIONS

San Diego, Texas is located halfway between present day Laredo and Corpus Christi on SH44 and halfway between San Antonio and McAllen west of US281. It was located on the Spanish *Camino Reale* from Mier (1753) and Camargo (1749) to Presidio Los Adaes (1729) and the San Antonio Missions. There is a small wet weather creek, springing from the caliche limestone at what is known as an *ojo de agua*, a karst topography artesian water feature that is a dry-weather water source that flows as a creek after rain. The water in San Diego was an important resource on the dry, cactus filled plains between the Sierra Nevada Oriental and the Edwards Plateau. On a clear day, you can see the mountains of Monterrey in the distant southwest, the only visible topography in any direction because the land appears completely flat. This coastal plain was continuously inhabited for upwards of 15,000 years by nomadic Native Americans supported by the buffalo, plants and the springs (Collins M. , 1998). Geographers call this area the Western Gulf Coast Physiographic Province, located above the large Río Grande Delta and below the head waters of the smaller Nueces River (Fenneman, 1938). The area around San Diego was called the Nueces strip, a disputed border area between the United States and México when and both countries fought for the border to be moved. This sparsely populated area was not been successfully missionized by the Spanish or French, and was only dotted with small settlements and vast cattle ranches during the colonial era until the Texas Mexican railway connected San Diego to the port of Corpus Christi in 1879.

Figure 1 - Map showing Monterrey Meir San Diego and Los Adaes (Garza E. , 2013)

This area is generally called the borderlands, or *La Frontera*, and is characterized as being part of the national boundary between the United States or Texas and México. This international frontier is also on the edges of distinct ecological and topographic regions. Sandwiched between the Edwards Plateau to the north and the Tamaulipan biotic district in México, this strip of land is ecologically distinct from its neighbors. The underlying geological features that shape this topography include the Beaumont, Lissie, and Goliad formations of the Pliocene, Pleistocene, Holocene, and recent epochs of the Tertiary and Quaternary periods (Poole, 2007). Under the thin soil there are large deposits of the *caliche* or limestone that was laid down when Texas was underwater during these epochs. Under those limestone deposits is the lowest reaches of the Ogallala and Edwards aquifers, and far below that are deposits of natural gas and oil. One of the earliest oil discoveries in Texas was just south of San Diego, at the Piedras Pintas ranch, and the area is currently receiving renewed economic attention from drilling and fracking currently, generating a wealth of historic and pre-historic artifacts that are testaments to the ability of people to survive in this seemingly harsh environment for thousands of years (Adams, 1977). Only some of these artifacts found during recent drilling operations are being documented, despite National Historic Preservation laws aimed at preserving shared cultural heritage, finds on private property belong to the land owner. Hopefully, the explorations and mandated CRM archaeological surveys of mine areas will add information to the geologic, biotic and archaeological knowledge about San Diego and Duval County, Texas (Miller, 1997; NHPA, 1966; NPS, 2004).

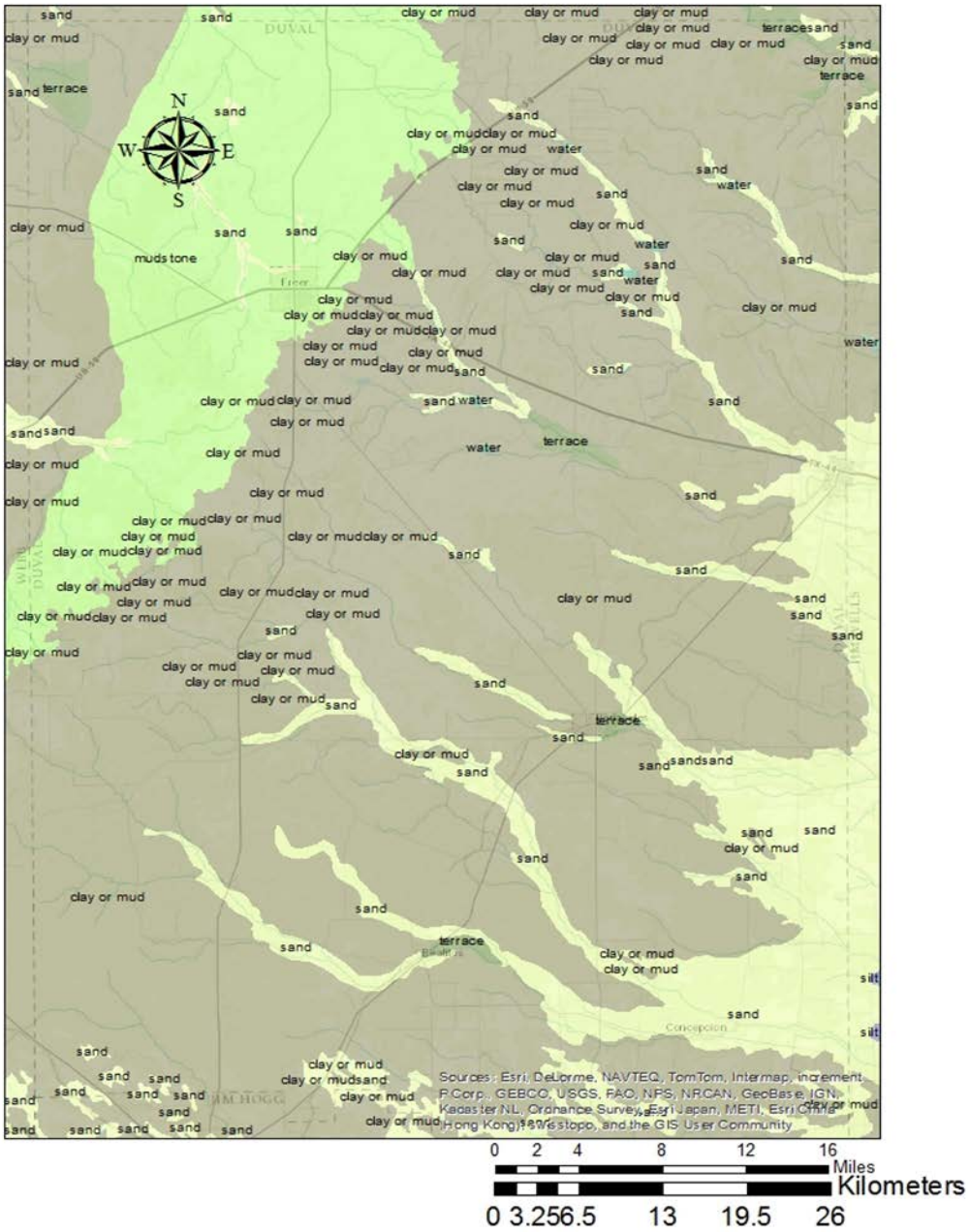


Figure 2 - Map Showing Soil Types (Garza E. , 2013)

Flora

South Texas is part of the Southern Plains, between the Tamaulipan biotic province and its tropical vegetation to the south, the Edwards Plateau to the north, the Sonoran Desert to the west, and the coastal plains that border the Gulf of México to the east. At the edges of these four biomes, San Diego's landscape is characterized by thin soil over caliche limestone interspersed by seasonal creeks and artesian springs (THC, 1998; Poole, 2007). Low rainfall, mild winters and harsh summers are the norm in this semi-arid place. The *chaparral* or thorny brush that is common now encroached with the cattle industry and its fences that allowed *Mesquite* (*Prosopis juliflor va. glandulosa*), *Huishace* or Acacia *(Acacia farnesiana*) *Cenizo* or sage (*Leucophyllum texanum*), and *Ebano* or Texas ebony (*Siderocarpos flexicaulis*), *Nacahuita* or wild Texas olive (*Cordia boissieri*), *Agrito* (*Mahonia trifoliolata*), *Anaqua* (*Ehretia anacua*), and mountain laurel or *Frijolillo* (*Sophora secundiflora*) to take hold by stopping the grazing herds that made this area a prairie. Prehistorically, it was vegetated by low grasses dotted with vast stretches of *Nopal* prickly pear (*Opuntia lindheimeri*), and *tasajillo* (*Opuntia leptocaulis)*, and the entheogenic and religiously valued *peyōtl* (*Lophophora Williamsonii*) that was gathered by local Native Americans and people from Central México's Sierra Nevada (Myerhoff, 1974; Felger, 2007). This biome has changed after dramatically in the past 600 years, brush density has increased and many native species have decreased because of ranching, fencing and introduction of tropical plant species coupled with the disappearance of buffalo and fire. The reduction in some plant diversity was coupled with the introduction and

naturalization of European plants naturalized such as *pepino del monte,* wild cucumbers (*Momordica elaterium, L. o Ecbalium*) and Salt Cedar (*Tamarix ramosissima*) as well as agricultural grass cultivars from México and Europe and Asia such as buffalo, bluestems and grama grasses (Butzer, 1978; Doolittle, 1987; Sluyter A. , 1986; Tunnell, 2002).

There are several ranching styles in Texas, but many of the early cattle ranches in Texas derive their land management styles from the Marismas of Sevilla according to Butzer (Butzer, 1978). Texas also has ranching traditions derived from other European roots and indigenous practices (Jackson J. , 1986; Jackson R. H., 1998). Some historians and geographers see the landscape as irrevocably changed by the Colombian exchange: others as a constantly evolving interplay of people and place. Early ranchers practiced seasonal transhumance that re shaped the landscape that had been changed by Native Americans (Sluyter, 1996). It is important to consider the human ecological interactions, instead of seeing the landscape as a static backdrop, or unchanging setting for human action. Disentangling the threads of human and landscape interaction is a highly specialized form of archaeology, and the changes in colonial Texas was also influenced by the regions the immigrants came from, differences in practices and the interplay of Indigenous and European interactions with the landscape (Butzer, 1978). When Europeans arrived, they saw “empty” grassland, but it had been shaped by nomadic hunter gatherer groups who practiced seasonal transhumance, resource scheduling and burning similar to the seasonal movement of wild herds until the advent of barbed wire and fenced ranches (McCallum, 1957; Jackson J. , 1986).

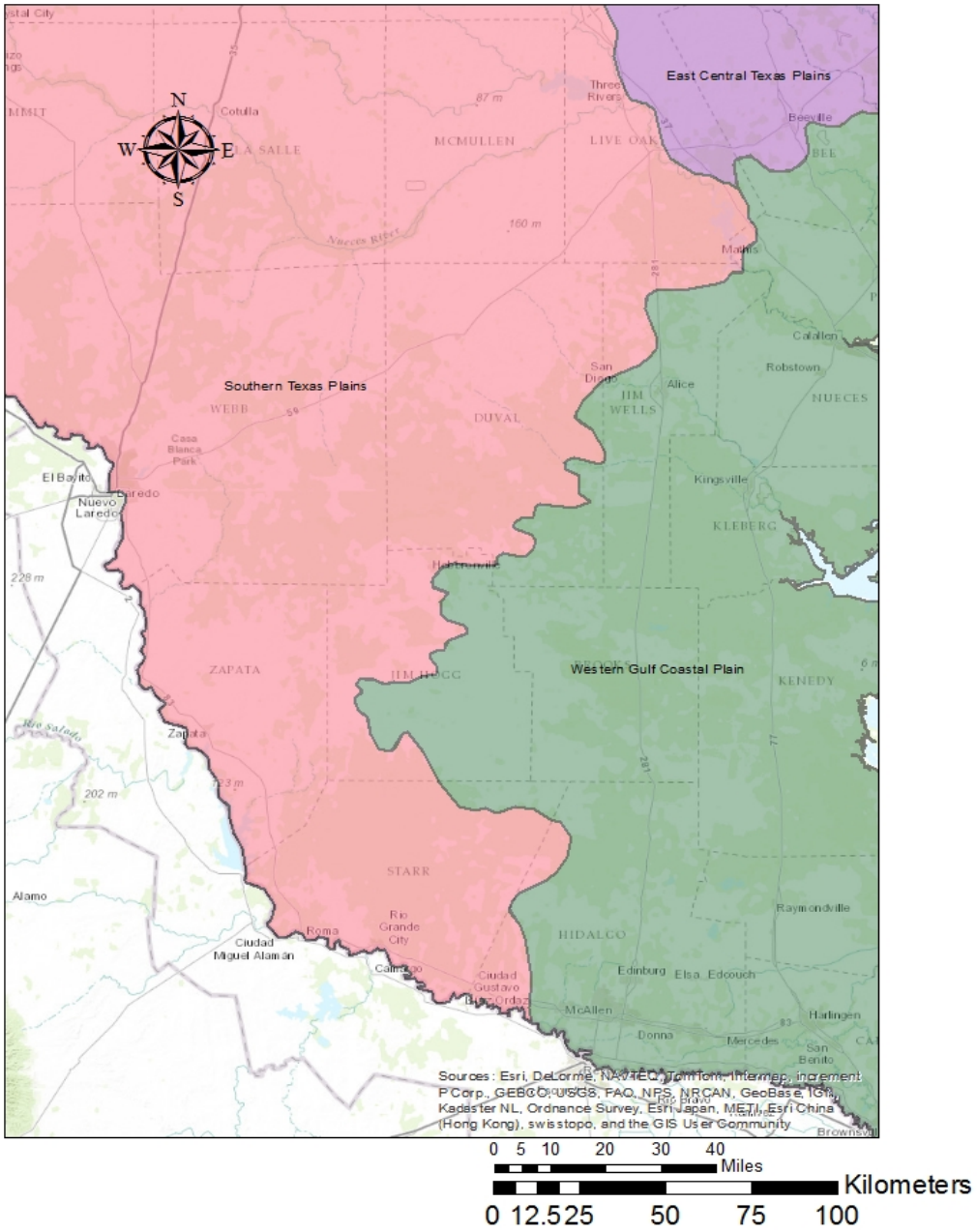


Figure 3 - Map Showing Eco Regions (Garza E. , 2013)

Early explorers and friars noted many biotic resources along their routes and described some seasonal resource scheduling by Native Americans. The supplies of food and water noted in the *entradas* and expeditions are the primary sources for the reconstruction of earlier environments in Texas. Fray Félix de Espinosa passed through south Texas in his 1716 expedition to central Texas and referred to the presence of fish, including catfish, *pilonte* or flathead catfish, and gar, alligators, as well as *nopal*, grapevines, mulberries, strawberries, and a good supply of water (Gómez de Orozco, 1991). However, we may supplement this list of foods with a myriad of other edible flora and fauna that are indigenous to central and south Texas and still in use.

Edible plant resources such as *agarito* berries, *pitaya* cactus, coma, a local berry (*Bumelia lanuginose*), mesquite beans, prickly pear tuna, pecans, dandelions, wild clover leaves and roots, tubers of many sorts, chili *pequín*, wild onions, Texas barberry, black persimmon, anaqua berries, native mushrooms, and *manzanilla del monte* are only some of the common plants that still grow wild and are used by people in San Diego, in my experience. In this area, wild and naturalized plants that are edible and nutritious remain part of the local diets for many people, and are even wild crafted and sold in the local grocery store like *pepinos del monte*. Plants are used in local medicinal *remedios*, teas, poultices and soaks for sore muscles. Plants also figure prominently in traditional cures and practices such as sweeping a patient for *ojo* with a bundle of herbs.

Fauna

South Texas sports an impressive array of native and introduced animal species. From the largest current mammal whitetail deer (*Odocoileus v. texanus*), to the pre-historic giant buffalo and the historic buffalo (*Bison antiquus and Bison Bison*), the fauna of South Texas has been one reason the area was chosen for occupation. Other game animals include *javalinas* (*Tayassuidae artiodactyl Suina*), and jackrabbits (*Lepus C. texianus*) nine banded armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*) and a huge variety of birds, reptiles, aquatic vertebrates, and edible invertebrates. The climatic shifts since the Holocene in Texas have changed the faunal assemblages, extinct mammoth tusks, bison antiquus and other extinct mega fauna bones are occasionally found in South Texas around San Diego. The remains of a varied plant and animal diet of early prehistoric Native Americans including the archaeologically ubiquitous *Rabdotus* snails are evident in all the investigated sites in South and Central Texas. After the introduction of horses and the decline of the buffalo, south Texas became populated by herds of *mesteños* or wild mustang horses (Hester T., 1980; Hester T. S., 1989; Collins M. B., 1996-2003).

The predators in South Texas, other than humans, include coyotes (*Canis latrans*) mountain lions (*Puma concolor*) as well as *talcoyotes* or American badger, (*Taxidea taxus*), Alligators (*Alligator mississippiensis*), Ocelots (*Leopardus pardalis*), Bobcats (*Lynx rufus*) and *jaguarundis* (*Puma yagouaroundi*). Opossums or *taquaches*, skunks and feral hogs are also found in south Texas around San Diego alongside rarer species like porcupines and horned toads and ring tails (Pertulla, 2004; TPWD, n.d.).

Wild game such as mountain lion, deer, armadillo, javalinas, cottontail rabbit, jackrabbit, squirrel, quail, turkey, dove, sand crane, snakes and reptiles, opossum, raccoon, and migratory ducks and geese are still hunted, and prepared for consumption by people in the area. These faunal remains are also present in archaeological assemblages, caves and stream beds where some bone preservation occurs.

Amphibians	Sheep frog	*Hypopachus variolosus*
Amphibians	Black-spotted newt	*Notophthalmus meridionalis*
Birds	Texas Botteri's Sparrow	*Aimophila botterii texana*
	Sprague's Pipit	*Anthus spragueii*
	Western Burrowing Owl	*Athene cunicularia hypugaea*
	Mountain Plover	*Charadrius montanus*
	Peregrine Falcon	*Falco peregrinus*
	American Peregrine Falcon	*Falco peregrinus anatum*
	Arctic Peregrine Falcon	*Falco peregrinus tundrius*
	Sennett's Hooded oriole	*Icterus cucullatus sennetti*
	Audubon's oriole	*Icterus graduacauda audubonii*
	Wood Stork	*Mycteria americana*
	White-faced Ibis	*Plegadis chihi*
Mammals	Ocelot	*Leopardus pardalis*
	Cave myotis bat	*Myotis velifer*
	White-nosed coati	*Nasua narica*
	Plains spotted skunk	*Spilogale putorius interrupta*
	Black bear	*Ursus americanus*
Plants	Walker's manioc	*Manihot walkerae*
Reptiles	Reticulate collared lizard	*Crotaphytus reticulatus*
	Texas indigo snake	*Drymarchon melanurus erebennus*
	Texas tortoise	*Gopherus berlandieri*
	Spot-tailed earless lizard	*Holbrookia lacerata*
	Texas horned lizard	*Phrynosoma cornutum*
	Mexican blackhead snake	*Tantilla atriceps*

Figure 4 - Current endangered species in Duval County (TPWD, n.d.)

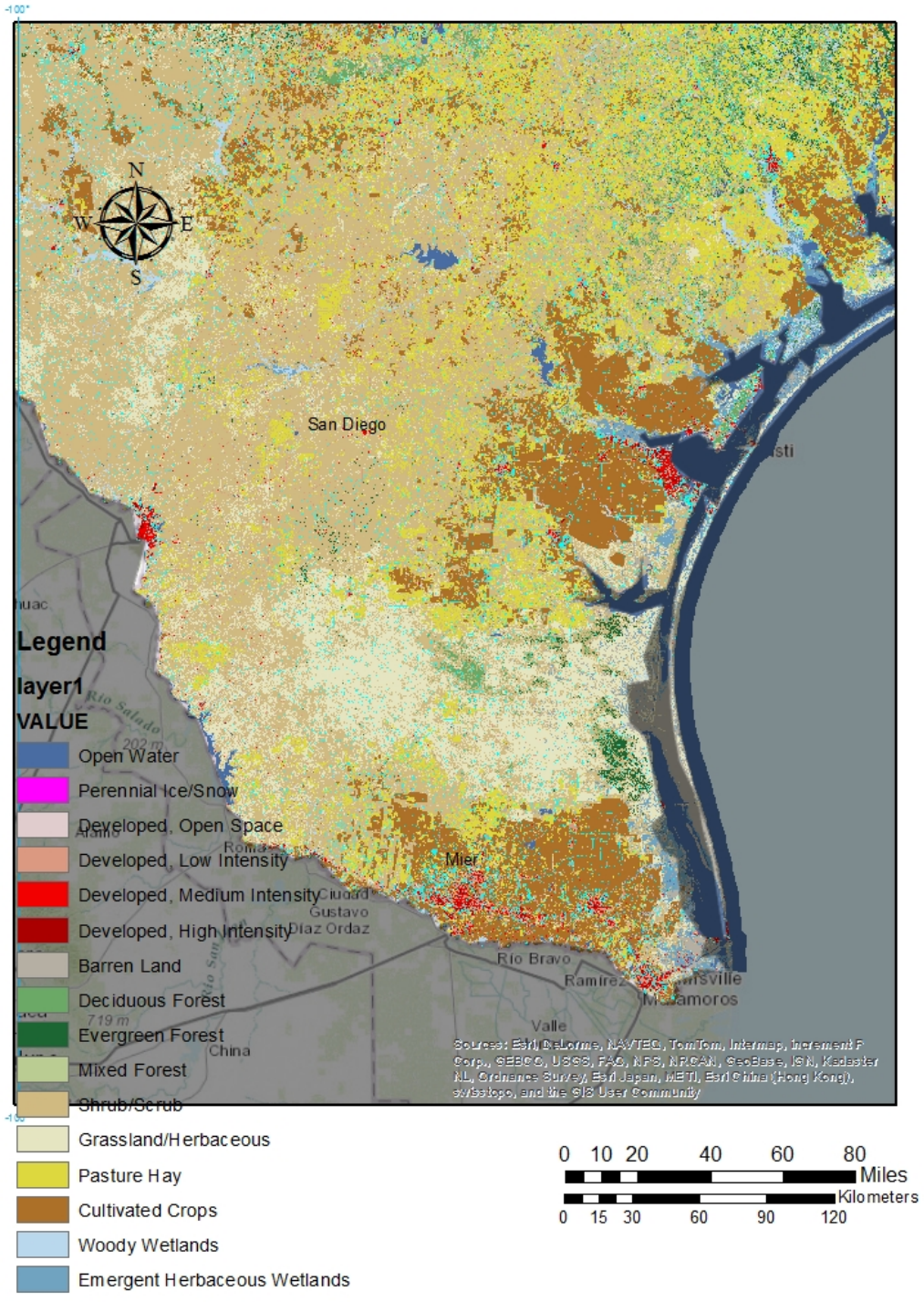


Figure 5 - Map showing groundcover type (Garza E. , 2013)

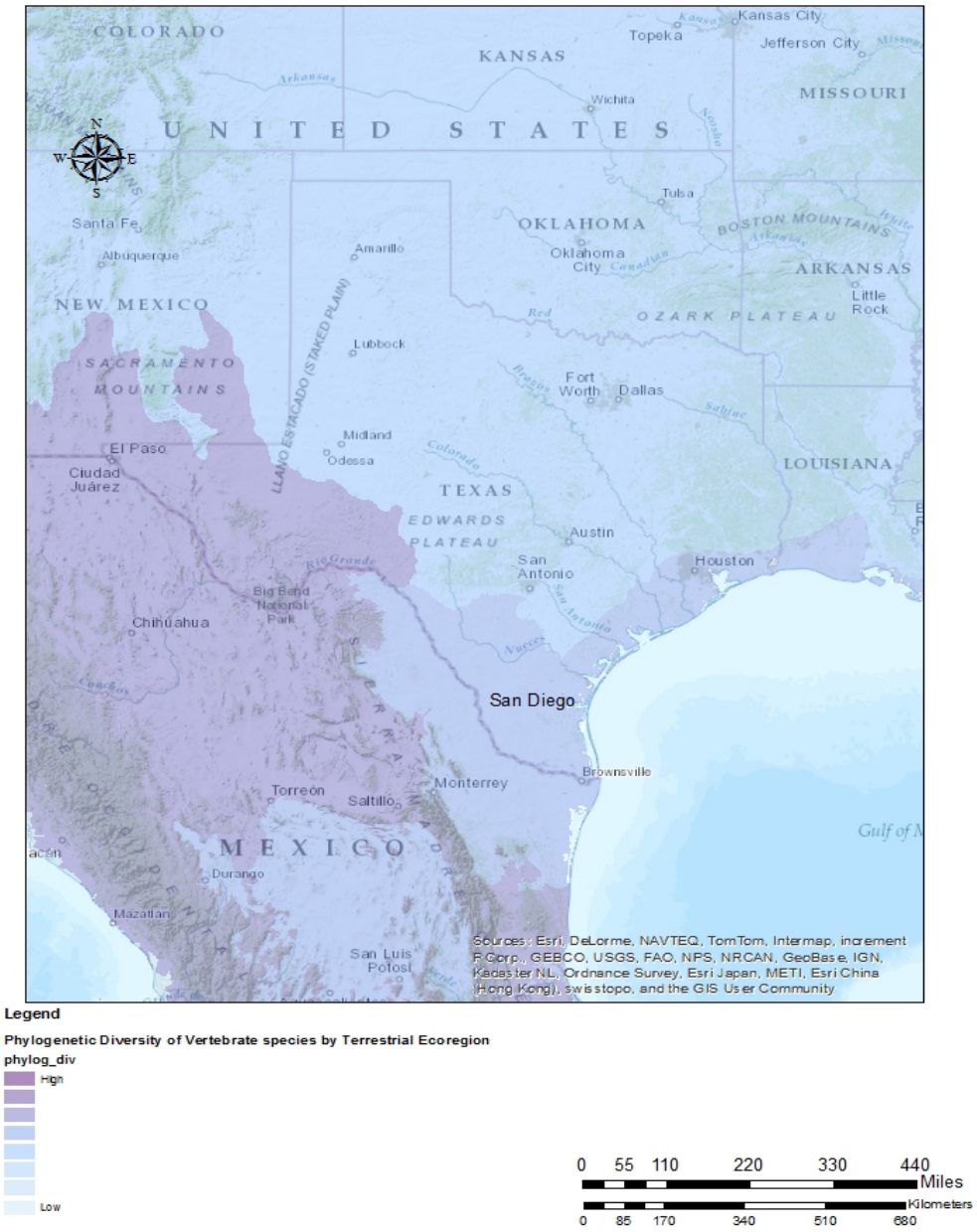


Figure 6 - Map showing high species diversity in South Texas (Garza E. , 2013)

Native Americans

ARCHAIC NATIVE AMERICANS

People have lived in southwestern Texas at least since the last ice age. Archaeological evidence shows that Paleo-Indians and Clovis technology were present in Texas up to 15,000 years ago (Collins M. , 1998). However, until recently, most Texas archaeology stopped at the Clovis era 13,500 to 13,000 years ago presuming that technology came with the first people in the Americas: this was known as the "Clovis First" theory of Texas archaeology (Waters, 2007). Michael Collins is challenging that date and pushing the date back to around 15,000 years ago. Michael Collins and other Paleo-Indian scholars building deeper knowledge about these first cultures in Texas and their practices "We're interested in doing an awful lot more than just saying there were people here 15,000 years ago. We would like to know as much as we can about these people: What they were doing, how they were making a living, what their approach to making tools was" (Collins 2012).

Since the inception of Archaeology in the Americas, the question of when the Native Americans got here has been forefront in the research designs of archaeological digs. Until the 1960's it was taken for granted that Clovis technologies represented the first people in the Americas and in Texas. This fits with the exposure of the Bering Strait and the ability to cross from Siberia over a land bridge following game. Instead of the big game hunter model, Collins espouses a study of Paleo-Indian sites that looks at wide varieties of sustenance patterns and a varied diet. Paleo-Indians were more than just

mastodon and mammoths hunters who followed the herds to Texas: they were people who exploited different resources that adopted the Clovis stone tool technology, and whose migration most likely pre-dated the appearance and diffusion of Clovis lithic technologies.

Michael Collins is widely regarded as a pre-Clovis expert; he approaches Texas archaeology from a different angle by looking at the whole cuisine and toolkit of the ancient residents of the Gault site. By highlighting blade polish caused by cutting grasses and the uses of food resources such as turtles and invertebrates, he paved the way for more in-depth tool analysis and a wider cuisine than his predecessors had ever investigated. Michael Collins' Gault Site, in Central Texas, has collected millions of artifacts has been continuously occupied due to the artesian creek, one of the resources that made long term seasonal occupation possible. The site also is between the Edwards Plateau and the black land prairie biomes, situating the site within easy walking distance of different flora and faunal resources including a source of chert for tool making while maximizing species diversity. This setting on the edges of multiple biomes is similar to the landscape around Duval County and San Diego, with a creek and seasonal resources nearby. The Gault dig has also discovered what can be seen as some of the oldest portable art in the Americas, purposefully drawn lines drawings on rocks dated at 13,500 years old (Collins M. B., 1996-2003). San Diego and Duval County also have archaeological evidence of Paleo-Indians and possible pre-Clovis occupations noted by local and professional archaeologists.

ARCHAEOLOGY OF DUVAL

Duval County is not devoid of prehistoric archaeological remains, though there have been a few Cultural Resource management or CRM archaeology surveys, local residents are very aware that the land has been occupied for centuries. However, no large scale academic or avocational studies have been done on the material culture of the region. CRM studies are legally mandated to make sure that all archaeological sites in the United States protected under section 106 of the National Historic trust Act are not destroyed when roads, mines or other destructive processes are being undertaken. CRM surveys before oil and mine activities or new construction take place are paid for by the private companies, and not mandated to be shared with the public except in government reports that are hard to locate. If material culture is found, it is documented, written up in a report, and possibly sent to the Texas Archaeology research lab for storage if it is deemed important. If indigenous remains are found, The Native American Graves repatriation act or NAGPRA mandates that the remains should be returned to any tribes with ties to the material or regional culture. CRM companies file site reports at the Texas Archaeological Research Laboratory labeled with trinomial alphanumeric designations following the Smithsonian Trinomial system that gives each recorded archeological site has a state-County-site alpha-numeric label. Texas is 41 because Texas was the 41st state at the time the system was devised, Duval is DV and the Site numbers follow that in numerical order (TARL, n.d.).

One example of a CRM survey was in May 1988, when an archeological resources survey and assessment of approximately 1,880 acres within in Duval and Webb counties was undertaken by Bruce Ellis and Cathy Dodt-Ellis by the CRM company that was then part of the Texas Archeological Research Laboratory called “Assessment of the El Mesquite Southeast and O'Hern Prospects, Duval and Webb Counties, Texas”. This survey was paid for by Malapai Resources (TARL, n.d.). The remains of 14 prehistoric sites and one currently occupied historic site were identified by this study. Lithic technology found was temporally diagnostic and indicated occupations during the Archaic to Late Prehistoric periods. One historic and eleven prehistoric sites (41DV44 through 41DV55) were located on the proposed mining site, the EASP lease leased as mineral rights properties. Three prehistoric sites (41WB106 through 41WB108) were located on the O'Hern lease. Artifacts were found on both land cuts in creek beds and upland locations. The sites were identified as “disturbed” prior to survey; therefore the CRM archaeologists deemed the artifacts and archaeological features identified during this project not worth electing to the National Register of Historic Places (TARL, n.d.).

The same Texas Archaeological Research Laboratory team conducted an archeological survey and assessment of a 530-acre extension of the Rosita Mine in Duval County paid for by URI or Uranium Resources, Inc. Two prehistoric sites from the Archaic and Late Prehistoric periods (41DV135 and 41DV137) and two historic sites (41DV136 and 41DV138) were documented in the area proposed for strip mining to obtain the Uranium below. It was reported by the agency that none of these sites warrant further

archeological investigation. A historic cemetery (41DV139), was located outside the project area, but was also recorded (TARL, n.d.).

In 1985 a report on the survey of the Duval County landfill site was filed with the Texas Antiquities Commission of the Texas Historical Commission. This survey notes thin soil over caliche, with a scattering of Historic and prehistoric artifacts and a prehistoric campsite. Under Recommended actions Jim Warren wrote: "No actions: The "site" is recorded simply to get information into the system for future researchers in the area" (Warren, 1985). In 1991 C.K. Chandler submitted a report of a campsite and lithic artifacts west of Benavides in Duval County (41Dv133). The artifacts included one Folsom point, the Folsom point tradition followed the Clovis in Texas chronologically and bother were used by early Archaic Native Americans (Chandler, 1991).

The Texas Antiquities Commission also has reports of ceramics found by Humberto De Los Santos in 1972. His professor Jimmy Piquet of Texas A&I University wrote to the Historical Survey committee with photos of the previously unknown prehistoric ceramics that impressed him as important archaeologically in this area. Piquet noted that De Los Santos was unable to return to the ranch where the sherds were found, as five people had recently been shot there. De Los Santos, one of my former teachers and cousin, often talked about the cache of lithic material and ceramics he had found west of San Diego.

The archaeological remains in Duval are not limited to pre-historic sites. Early historic Mexican and Native American material culture exists in private collections. Large cannon balls that may be from Spanish explorations, early gun shells, fancy animal shaped

lithics and figural pottery have all been found around San Diego, Clovis and mammoth remains are also known in this area, and have been found and kept by local residents for generations. Photos of a local oil field find of undated figural pottery have been forwarded to me, but the owners were unwilling to submit the artifacts for testing, and as no law exists mandating the protection of all archaeological sites or artifacts, the materials found on private land belong to the owners of that land[2].

[2] While many people would think that important archaeological evidence belongs in museums, many others keep large collections of antiquities in private collections, or disturb their archaeological context without wanting to share the information with the public or descendant communities. Duval County is not the only area rich with undocumented archaeological sites, and these cultural resources are not acknowledged by the professional archaeological community, adding to the persistence of arrowhead and ceramic hunting by locals and for profit unscrupulous collectors who do not see the benefit to the public to document these finds of cultural history for descendant communities and future generations of Texans.

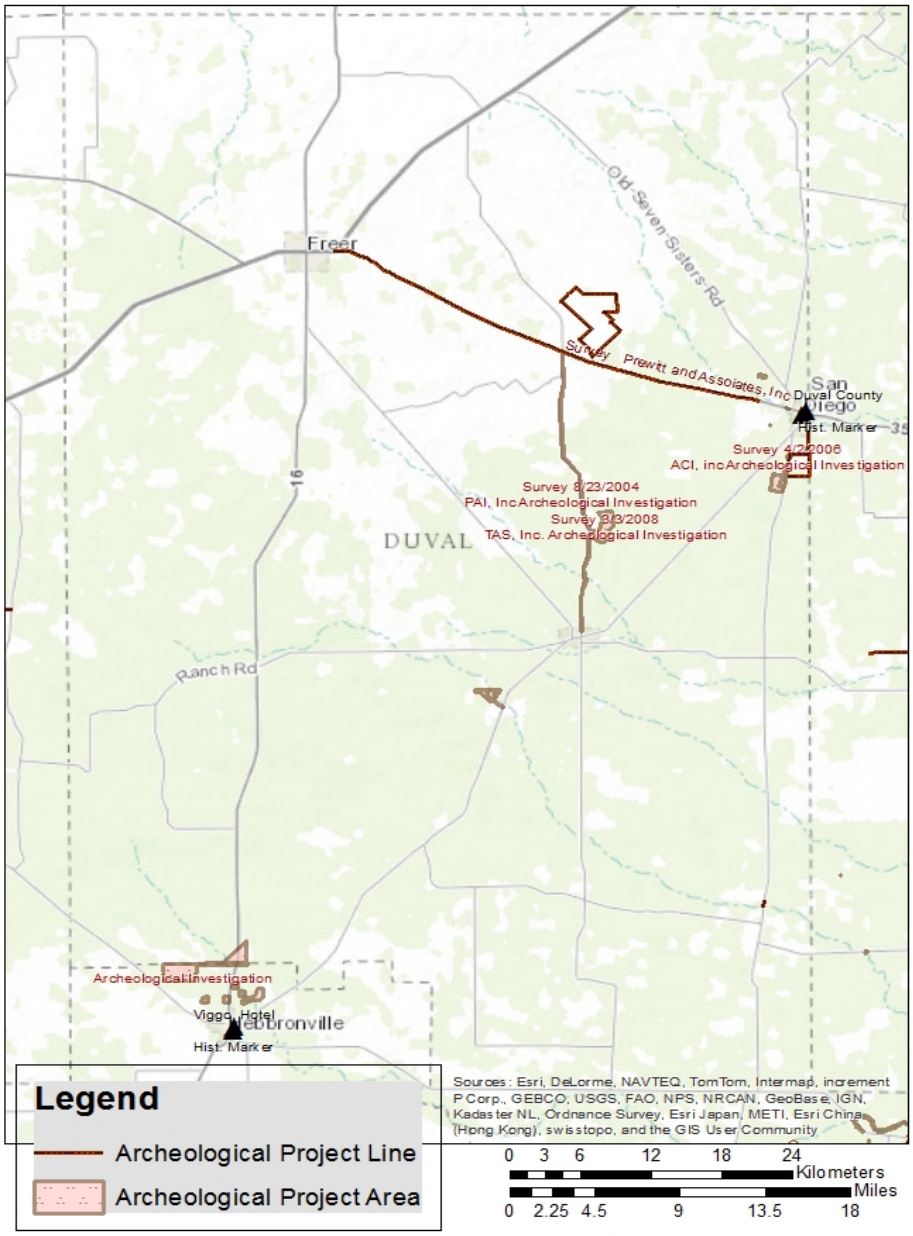


Figure 7 - Pre historic Archaeology of Duval according to THC (Garza E. , 2013)

HISTORIC NATIVE AMERICANS

Texas has a unique position as one of the regions explored by the Spanish people soon after the Spanish begun the conquest of New Spain and before large scale missionization. Early travel diaries and official correspondences are ethnographic writings that give clues to the way historic Native Americans in Texas lived at the beginning of the Spanish era and set the tone for future historians' approaches. Alvár Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was the first author to write about the Native Americans of Texas, after he survived a shipwreck in 1528. He washed up on the barrier islands off the coast of Texas with other survivors and then spent five years traveling from the coast westward through Texas and into northern México. His journey and subsequent published narrative are integral to understanding the experiences of Native Americans in South Texas, most authors agree that this is the area he traveled most extensively. His travels and experiences changed the perceptions about Native Americans and shaped the works of later European travelers, missionaries, and historians. *La Relación*, the written record of his experiences with the Native American groups he met is the first written history of Native Americas in Texas (Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, 1993).

In his narrative, Cabeza de Vaca recorded extensive details about the new plants and animals he encountered, partially due to his intimate relationship with food gathering to survive. He also noted a wide range of food resources utilized by different Native American groups as well as the movements of these groups due to seasonal resource scheduling and the ecological knowledge the Native Americans possessed. His account

also tells of eating and cooking and of the consumption practices of the Native Americans. Cabeza de Vaca lived with hunter-gatherer groups and survived because he took on various social roles in these groups, including food procurement. According to his published memoirs, he survived by gathering underwater roots until his hands and feet bled, collecting fruit and nuts, and trading goods and services including healing for food.

Cabeza de Vaca's information also makes it possible to understand how the use of certain foods and behaviors continued throughout missionization and to connect these foodways to the later historic Mexican American cuisine. Gender roles before, during, and after the mission were incorporated into every aspect of food and food production, from the division of labor of agricultural chores to food preparation, like grinding corn. Cabeza de Vaca also noted the sharing of resources within groups and particularly noted the difference in trade between different groups and gender roles. He observed that women played pivotal roles in the trade and interactions between groups, these observations on women's roles are significant to understand the food economy of the later missions and Mexican Texas because missionaries placed restrictions on women's movements and generally restricted their roles to the domestic sphere of activities, a practice that continued for centuries. Cross cultural comparison of gender roles and food preparation are possible from the early historic period to the present, and is a line of research that deserves more attention (Barr, 2007). Native Americans and the European different views on gender underlined the mission experiences and resulted in historical modifications of social roles, methods of food production and food restrictions (Wade, 2011).

Colonial Era

Dividing the colonial era up into monolithic colonies divided by nationalities or ethnic groups is what Harris (1977) called "the simplification of Europe overseas" and Butzer also warned of the dangers of squashing a great cultural diversity into what is perceived as a simpler and homogenous colonial group (Butzer, 1978; Harris R. C., 1977). But, for the purposes of this dissertation, the history of northern New Spain has to be reviewed to examine Duval County, so we have to look at the Spanish, French and Mexican early explorations and settlements. While recognizing the intricacy of these colonies' nationalities, ethnic identities, and colonial places of origin influenced how they viewed and settled in what is now Texas. Mexican Americans in San Diego have Native American, European and United States influences and ties.

After Hernán Cortez conquered central México [1519-1522], Spanish missionaries, soldiers and settlers moved northward to explore and lay claim to the rest of New Spain where a vast number of regionally distinct groups of Native Americans lived. Friars and soldiers who took part in *entradas* and expeditions to northern México and Texas prior to the establishment of the San Antonio missions recorded their experiences and observations about Native Americans in their travel diaries and in reports to their religious superiors and to the Spanish Crown. These records provide the first archival views of Texas but show a fraction of the people, practices and foods that existed before and after the Mission Period.

SPANISH

Thomas Nolan Campbell, one of the preeminent scholars of the Texas mission records, called for deeper study of the Spanish archival records dealing with Indians in Texas: he urged academics to go further than what he called a "cream-skimming operation" of Spanish records naming groups in the missions, to actually try to detail the minutia of Native American lives (Campbell T. N., 1988, p. 1). In Texas, the Spanish missions were the places where most Native Americans entered the written historical record as well as the places where Spanish agents and historians counted Native American residents and enumerated select cultural practices, Native Americans who did not stay in the missions are often not recognized at all. Even groups that did not enter the missions were sometimes documented by the friars. Demographic studies and archaeological analysis of material culture provide insights into the lives of Native Americans who did live in missions. Campbell detailed the urgent need to recover from the ethnohistorical record all possible details about the names, daily lives, and multiple identities and languages of Native Americans to help make sense of the archaeological record. He stated, "What archeologists really want is more systematically organized ethnohistoric information, and with more of it organized with archaeological problems in mind" (Campbell T. N., 1988, p. 2). Campbell's many articles brought to light evidence about daily some Native American's lives and food procurement before and during the Mission Period within and outside of the missions, but many groups have not been studied this way.

In 1985, T. N. Campbell and T. J. Campbell compiled evidence on the Indian Groups Associated with Spanish Missions of the San Antonio Missions National Historic Park (Campbell T. N., 1985). This work used mission records and previous research to accurately identify the Native American resident groups in the four Spanish missions within the Missions National Park in San Antonio. Campbell's call for more archival work together with his ethnohistoric work also set the tone for other researchers. There is still a paucity of work that connects the pre-historic record to written histories and the historic archaeological record in general. There is also a lack of commemorating monuments and markers of indigenous and Mexican peoples' memories and experiences of place, as Patricia Rubertone noted in her study of early colonial encounters (Rubertone, 2009).

During the historic period, there were many Native American groups that resisted missionization, and there were Spanish settlements and cattle ranches where various ethnicities were employed. The *Rancho de las Cabras* site that was the goat ranch associated with Mission San Francisco de la Espada in the late 1700's shows agency and autonomy from the missions as well as Native American food preferences in agricultural practices (Fox A. A., 1998). Unlike California and other Northern Mexican Mission areas, there were very few Christian settler ranches associated with the successful Texas missions until the very end of the mission period. Most historic and archaeological investigation of historic sites has focused on the mission setting so the facts about other groups and pre-historic practices are often filtered through the mission records (Wade, 2003).

Later explorers noted the continuation of Native Practices and languages in South Texas, Fray Manzanet (1691), Ramon (1707), Escandón (1746), and Jean Berlandier

(1822) all passed through south Texas and Duval and noted the continuation of indigenous ethnic affiliations, languages and cultures despite missionization and increased Spanish language usage (Manzanet, 1899; Berlandier, 1980; Salinas, 1990; Maestas E. G., 2003). Duval County has a rich pre-historic and early historic Native American legacy that has not been explored in depth as the contiguous Starr, Zapata and other Texas counties. Duval may not have been the location of missions, but it was influenced by the missionization process and the population is descended from indigenous, early Mexican mestizo settlers and Spanish land grant holders according to census and mission records and family lore. All of the official records of this are filtered through colonial documents and historians.

From 1718 through the 1730s, Franciscan friars established five missions in San Antonio, Texas: Misión San Antonio de Valero, Misión San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Misión Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña, Misión San Juan Capistrano, and Misión San Francisco de la Espada. The missions in San Antonio and similar missions in Texas still have religious, social and political impact today. My master's thesis explored the food economies of the San Antonio missions, which I believe do continue to shape the local landscape and the regions they occupy through their historic culinary legacy and descendant communities. The San Antonio missions' architectural remains, including churches, living quarters and *acequias* (irrigation ditches), are currently a National Park that spans the four mission sites and some of the surrounding areas and have been the subjects of numerous historic and archaeological investigations.

Butzer points out the immutability of the Spanish and Native American aspects of the missions noting that *acequias,* one of the most archaeologically visible mission

features, derive from both indigenous and Iberian roots (Meyer, 1984; Valdez, 1979; Butzer, 1978). The Missions also had a Canary Islander population, further tangling water management practices with earlier Spanish and Native American hydraulics blended in central México.

Currently Mission San Antonio de Valero is a private for profit operation and archive, with mixed meanings to different populations in Texas. The San Antonio missions loom large in Texas history, and show how Texas was similar to other Spanish frontiers and yet still unique. The Missions also stand as testaments to the lasting impact of the Mission Period on the surrounding communities. I believe that the missions and the communities on the roads to them remain thriving and evolving cultural landscapes, creating living history that started before and continued past the Spanish occupation, but only certain aspects of the missions are commemorated and studied (Flores, 2002).

The San Antonio Missions were not the only successful Missions in Texas, but they were the most populated, documented and longest lasting. Missions like the San Antonio Missions are one of the places where Native American and Spanish practices intersected; they were the sites of the first farms and ranches in Texas and are important to Native American, Texas Mexican American and religious history. Mission food practices combined locally grown staples and luxury foods, some of which were locally obtained while others were imported, creating a hybrid Spanish and Native American cuisine. The food economy was crucial to the historical success of the missions because the missions had to feed their inhabitants to keep the mission converts in one place, to change their sustenance patterns, and to continue to attract new Native American residents. The food

practices and daily life within the missions affected descendant communities including Native American, Spanish and *Tejano* communities as well as other ethnic groups that have historical ties to the missions and shaped the regional cuisine and perennial favorite dishes to this day.

Native American groups from what is now Texas and northern México formed the basis of the mission populations, each mission was a unique economic enterprise when taken together, and the missions represent a regional historical moment that left archaeological and archival evidence. Assessments of archaeological remains such as those detailed by Anne Fox and others in Archaeology of the Spanish Missions of Texas, carried out in and around the missions in the San Antonio area show some of the cultural, cuisine and cultural items and implements used in the Mission Period (Fox A. , 1991). Mission churches and villages dotted the landscape of colonial México, but mission or presidio archaeology dominates the historic Spanish archaeology in this country. Remote locations and small towns along the *Caminos Reales* do not receive the same archaeological or academic attention. To really understand the colonial political or social landscapes, the places along the way to the history of mission and mission studies needs to be understood as well (Stewart, 1996). Some scholars such as Bolton consider rural missions peripheral to the larger Spanish colonial arena, but missions were central to the frontiers they occupied, and paved the way for later expansion along their supply routes (Bolton H. , 1917; Bolton H. E., 1921). For this same reason, missions and Camino Reale sites are central to historic Native American and to Tejano and Mexican American studies because missions represent the first union of Texas cultures and ethnicities.

The Texas Mission Period lasted from 1690 to 1794, from the establishment of the first short lived mission to the year when most missions in Texas were secularized. This period does not show a one-sided colonial replacement of existing cultures and surrounding practices as early historic studies like Bolton suggested (Bolton H. , 1917). Instead, a diverse array of settlement and sustenance practices and import and export of goods that blended Native American and European practices began. The indigenous peoples who moved into the missions were far more familiar with the local ecology than the incoming Europeans. Although the Spanish had the benefit of two hundred years of colonial exposure to the New World and they brought with them new Old World ideas, methods, and implements. It cannot be said that Native American knowledge, skills, survival techniques and foods were not abandoned for the new settled life after the Mission Period.

Frontera Missions existed in multiple frontiers: ecological, ethnic and religious. Missions were frontiers institutions and local centers of production. While they were peripheral to the colonial powers, they were the largest urbanized areas in Texas. Adelman and Aron defined frontier as "a meeting place of peoples in which geographic and cultural borders were not clearly defined" (Adelman, 1999, p. 815). Frontiers like these missions, are a combination of multiple boundaries, real and imagined, that can overlap, divide, and unite cultures as geographic and ideological colonial borders shifted. An undoubted influence on these frontier missions and part of what made them unique in the Spanish colonial periphery may be explained by the hunter-gatherer lifestyle the San Antonio mission residents had prior to missionization. Abundant local resources such as pecans, cacti, edible fruits, roots, fish, and game served as the base diet of the pre-mission Native

Americans missionization (THC, 1998; Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, 1993). These local food resources do not appear on inventory lists, but one cannot assume that they did not continue to serve as dietary sources for the Native American mission residents. Foods like these local resources were noted by every *entrada* and early explorer as resources favored by the Native Americans of the region, and by late historic explorers and travelers as well.

Colonial studies and core-periphery consumption patterns have been studied in the Texas missions. The Missions existed mostly separate from the colonial bases due to their distance from larger urban centers in México, but they remained connected to the wider commercial networks of New Spain, and to the world, through the items imported and the economic support received from Spain and México. Supplies from other places that were transported to the furthest reaches of the empire, though towns like San Diego, where the caravans stopped for water or to defend against attacks at the *sillar*, or quarried limestone block, building now called the *Casa Blanca*. During the mission years, chocolate was the biggest expense, but many other foods, spices and goods traveled to the missions and presidios, the second largest expense was goods lost along the road, these goods made their way into the cultures of nomadic Indians that resisted missionization like those who lived in present day Duval County.

Herbert Eugene Bolton was the first academic scholar in the United States to turn the attention of English speaking American historians to the colonial Spanish heritage of what became the southwestern United States. After the secession of California, Texas, Arizona and New Mexico to the United States through the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, many of the Spanish records were lost, forgotten or ignored. Bolton ushered the

historic study of the meticulously written Spanish documentation on mission history and processes in the areas that had been Spanish colonies. Bolton's article "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish American Colonies" is a synopsis of the religious and political systems that characterized the Spanish missions and of the practices in the Spanish colonies that became part of the United States and of México (Bolton H. E., 1921).

Bolton utilized translators to read the Spanish historical records, and he emphasized the different colonial trajectories the States that were ceded to the United States underwent. He paved the way to inclusion of the Spanish and Indigenous histories into the larger history of the United States. In 1911, Bolton noted: "the history of the United States has been written almost solely from the standpoint of the East and of the English colonies" (Magnaghi, 1998, p. 83). Bolton wanted to have a multifaceted history that recognized the different chapters of the past, his forward thinking and desire to re-work the history of the southwestern United States paved the way to inclusion of the Spanish and Indigenous influences (Bannon, 1978, p. 25). As his biographer Francis Brannon noted, it may not have been Bolton's main goal to include Mexicans and Indians, but however inadvertently, he expanded the knowledge of the roots of the Hispanic and mestizo descendant communities as Native Americans became part of the Spanish colonial system through missionization through inclusion of the Spanish colonial history.

Bolton approached the missions as socio-political tools of the Spanish Empire, an empire built by, and around Native Americans. Bolton saw the mission as a benevolent system by intent, with the missionaries working as church and crown agents to instill Spanish values in the Native Americans and to bring them civilization (Bolton H. , 1917).

Bolton emphasized the backdrop of colonial policy and power exercised over the landscape through Spanish colonial patterns. The foods and town layouts that came with the Spaniards and the missions supplanted existing food patterns in ecological zones where Native Americans had long pre-existing food traditions. Bolton employed many translators, published widely on the subject of Spanish colonization and trained hundreds of scholars (Bannon, 1978). Any historical study of Texas must acknowledge the historiography of the field and the influence of Bolton. His analysis of the civil, religious and personal correspondence related to the Spanish mission system must be taken into account, especially because many of the primary archival materials he translated and synthesized are no longer available to other researchers (Jackson R. H., 1998).

The perspective of Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Creole peoples, and mestizos is often overlooked, perhaps because they were the object and product of colonization. The history of the descendant communities and their roles before, during, and after missionization are essential to understand the process and effects of colonization in the Americas and lay the groundwork for any Mexican American studies. The omission of much of this history is why I am so dedicated to recovering these more or less silenced perspectives, and performing some of that recovery in this dissertation, starting with and focusing on the Plan de San Diego.

Hubert Bancroft published a synthesis of the California mission records, drawing Spanish colonial history into the scope of the United States' political landscape (Bancroft, 1963). Like Bolton, he also employed translators to transcribe and translate many of the Spanish records. Some of these records were lost in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake

and fire and cannot be re-examined (Jackson R. H., 1998, p. 4). Through these multiple translations and interpretative biases, these secondary sources were changed from their original sources due in part to the linguistic complexity of the mission records. Religious scholars such Fr. Benedict Leutenegger and Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt and his students are also extremely influential in the historiography of the Spanish and Mission periods (Leutenegger, 1974; Engelhardt, 1919). Students of these scholars continued the tradition of translation and analysis. Leutenegger wrote copiously, including the San José Papers which he published with the help of Fr. Marion A. Habig (Habig, 1968). Fr. Habig wrote The Alamo Chain of Missions: A History of San Antonio's Five Old Spanish Missions (1977) and San Antonio's Mission San José: State and National Historic Site, 1720-1968 (1968), among numerous other articles, books and guides to the missions. Current ecclesiastical students and parishioners who study the lives of friars and the history of the churches continue a tradition that follows ancient hagiography and church history patterns.

Most religious scholars focus on missionary practices and goals through the study of missionaries' lives and deeds. The Native Americans involved in the missions are secondary to most religious studies. Church history also made the careers of secular historians who shaped the teaching of Texas history and who were some of the most prolific historians of our age. Carlos E. Castañeda greatly advanced the narration of the mission story in his seven-volume Our Catholic Heritage (Castañeda, 1976). His study remains as much a monument of his dedication to his profession of Historian as a tribute to the heroism of the friars whose glory the author recounts. Castañeda's work is one of the most extensive studies of Texas ecclesiastic history to date and his work continues to influence

historians and opinions about early Texas. Castañeda's emphasis on the missionaries' crusade does not invalidate his work as a scholar since he generally presented the unfavorable aspects of the padres' labors objectively. However, his focus on the friars prevented him from seeing the Native Americans as active participants in the meeting and clash of cultures. Unlike other scholars' works on friars and missions, Castañeda's Our Catholic Heritage focuses specifically on Texas and the author's detailed work refined the portrait Bolton drew of the missions.

Francis Guest, another Catholic historian studied missionaries from a more humanistic perspective, treats friars with the same kind of ethnographic lens many scholars apply to Native Americans. Guest's Hispanic California Revisited deals the California missions, and uses a more balanced approach to the friars' lives, not only lauding their attempts at conversion and the mission system but examining their motives and backgrounds (Guest, 1996). Studies focusing on Native Americans have had to rely on the Spanish written presence for evidence of life during colonial times.

Sherburne Cook and Robert H. Jackson give a clearer, more scientific and quantified images of mission life by using archival data to compute the population numbers and statistics about people in the missions (Cook, 1976; Jackson R. H., 1998). Cook, a physiologist and epidemiologist pioneered the quantitative analysis of the human impact Christian missions on Native American peoples thought calculated death tolls and historic accounts of virus transmission. Jackson noted that in the California missions:

> "The destruction of the Indian populations congregated into the missions, rather than the image of the romanticized heroic missionaries, is the most tangible legacy of the mission regime" (Jackson R. H., 1998, p. 154)

This applies well to all Christian missions in America's colonial frontiers. Bolton marveled that a couple of friars and soldiers were able to control so many hundreds of Native Americans, but scholars like Jackson fleshed out the picture of exactly how many Native Americans that meant. Relying on the same missionary records, Reff calculated that two of three natives in northern New Spain died between 1591 and 1638, and the survivors congregated in the missions (Reff, 1991). These studies, and others focused on site specific provide population estimates and answers to organizational questions about daily life in the California and Texas missions.

Mission life revolved around the daily meals that sustained social interactions and survival. Analyses that reveal everyday practices such as food choices are as crucial to understanding the social interactions, as are the religious, political, or demographic histories of the missions because they reveal the everyday choices, the micro-events that made up daily life. Even in missions that were not economically viable, or did not make surpluses and profits, local food production fed both the missionaries and the Native Americans who lived there, or people would simply leave.

The San Antonio missions aimed at religious and economic autonomy from the local customs of the hunter-gatherer groups targeted for conversion through the superimposition of Spanish lifeways. Hunter-gatherer subsistence patterns, characterized by complex movements of people and scheduling of resources that followed traditions

spanning thousands of years, were dramatically different from the settled mission agro-pastoral pursuits the friars introduced. If the missions did not satisfy the food needs or preferences of the Native Americans, these missionized people left the missions temporarily, or permanently, to find food (Campbell T. N., 1985; Wade, The Native Americans of the Texas Edwards Plateau, 1582-1799, 2003). If they stayed in the mission, Native Americans' established sustenance patterns were both changed and lost through the Spanish socioeconomic structures.

On the other hand, Native American foods and practices also blended with the Spanish colonial foods and the recipes of the missions, and changed the Spanish practices. The missions on the Texas frontier were perceptibly different from the central Mexican missions and from other Spanish colonial missions, most notably because of food production and food choices that were shaped by the environment and the preferences of both missionaries and local Native Americans as I showed in my Master's thesis (Garza E. C., 2009). While other Missions in the Southwest and California were based on the Texas model, there are still vast differences between Missions in the same regions, and across the colonial frontier. Some Texas Historians espouse that there was a cultural extinction of Texas Indians during the mission period (Hester T. , 1991). Early Spanish officials also expressed that Mission Indians were no longer "Indians" because of their clothing and language. Mexican historians and Indigenous anthropologists however agree that Mexican Indian people and practices persisted after the colonial era (Maestas E. G.-M., 2004). While Duval and the surrounding counties did not have missions, the Native Americans who lived there were visited by missionaries and the residents were written about. Maestas

notes that Mission Purísima Concepción north of Mier was begun in 1753 but never became an official settlement, even though it was recorded that some 132 Malagueco and Garza Indian families lived there (Maestas E. G., 2003, p. 559).

The Spanish Colonial Period produced a distinct Vaquero lifestyle that has been discussed by many authors (Chipman, 1992; Dobie, 1929; Butzer, 1978; Doolittle, 1987; Sluyter A. , 1986). Horticulture between the Nueces River and the Rio Bravo was historically and is currently difficult if not impossible to maintain. The average rainfall in Duval County that I show in figure 5 shows that the semi-arid plain has enough rain to maintain grasses and arid crops like cotton, but intensive cultivation of food crops is not possible. Early local Spanish colonial era farmers traditionally imported corn, grain, coffee and sugar. The small ranches supplemented their cattle and chicken with local wild game. The farms grew stone fruit crops as well as squash and some corn. A typical famine food in Duval is pan fried corn with a scrambled egg two locally available resources, while a celebration food would be *calabaza con puerco*, or stewed pork with squash. Ranching in Duval was possible because of the creek; most surrounding areas did not have as much available water. The methods employed by the only lasting missions in Texas included seasonal transhumance of herd animals, some crops sustained by the available water, and relied heavily on imported food stuffs. While Duval County followed this pattern, it was more similar to the Marismas of Seville, using remote camps with herders following the herds, and communities built around water.

Missions in Texas were successful in no small part due to the acequias from the San Antonio and red rivers, the other short lived missions did not have stable access to

water. Ranches along the Rio Bravo had similar success because of their placement close to year round water as evidenced by their long narrow arrangement radiating from the Rio Grande. Theses ranches also benefited from their proximity to the relatively densely settled Northern Mexican states of Montclova and Monterrey, which included garrisons of soldiers to defend the ranching communities.

In early South Texas, the indigenous seasonal scheduling of resources and movement was practiced, during colonial ears, the Mission model of seasonal transhumance was even less successful because of the large presence of indigenous people who actively resisted permanent settlement, keeping formal to fully take hold until the 1700's and even then, south Texas residents were often forced back to Mier and Guerrero, only returning after the Native Americans had moved on. After the decline of the buffalo, this pressure was increased despite the sparse population of South Texas.

To fully discuss the Vaquero lifestyle and model of transhumance would require another study, but it suffices to say that Vaquero traditions were hybridized indigenous and European methods of seasonal resource scheduling and that a unique Vaquero tradition existed in Duval, partially because of the placement on the caminoes Reales, partially due to the water resources and ecological niches. The success of open range cattle and sheep grazing afforded the vaqueros the ability to import needed goods, from the 1600's on. This tradition provided the small settlements with access to capital, and skills including knowledge of animal husbandry that were employed to continue to build wealth in a harsh social and geographic environment, as the demand for cattle in other states provided cattle

drive employment. This allowed the settlement of the arid plains between the Rio Bravo and the Nueces River.

Successful rancho households, and communities such as San Diego, Benavides and Redondo took root in South Texas after the Native Americans were pressured out through a combination of Spanish and Texas policies, but these communities included Native Americans and Mestizos who chose to live on this frontier as a way to escape the confines of US or Mexican social norms as well as an opportunity to become land owners rather than being confined to a presidio or mission controlled lifestyle. Cowboys are viewed as an icon of the US West, but the tradition has its roots in Spain and colonial Spain including Texas. These small communities that started as the base camps for the range riding Vaqueros, and became more centralized as the families pooled resources and defensive strategies. Central settlements allowed ranchers to graze in larger areas; this also made the communities farther apart, because large areas of land were needed to graze large hardy herds of cattle that descended from the wild stock that had taken hold shortly after colonial contact.

Unlike other locations in South Texas, San Diego has the unusual feature of a year round creek, and a number or artesian wells, these ojos de agua hint at the aquifer underground, but during the early colonial history, this water was inaccessible. The creek did provide water for the herds and for the settlement, but would not have been enough to sustain much agriculture. The City of San Diego developed out of the herdsmen employed by the original land grant holders as well as the associated trades of the seat or *siento del rancho* such as blacksmiths, leatherworkers, wagon repairs and many others.

FRENCH

The history of the colonial relations of Spain and France in Texas can be divided into three main periods. The first period includes New World colonial clashing including the French attempt to found Huguenot colony in Spanish Florida in the late 1500's aimed at ousting the Spanish and other competition in the exploration and settlement of North America. The second period is when the French monarchy competed with Spanish crown for the possession of the Gulf region and the lower Mississippi Valley beginning in the early years of the reign of Louis XIV, or Louis the Great, that culminated with the establishments of permanent French settlements in Louisiana by 1702 (Lagarde, 2003). The third period covers the later relationships, trade and militarization of New Spain and France's respective colonies as colonial neighbors, lasting until the French ceded their claims to the United States, and this final interplay of French and Spanish influences is still evolving in their former colonies.

Texas played a pivotal role in all three of these periods. Starting with the La Salle mission to find the Mississippi, and the subsequent abandonment of that settlement and the rescue of survivors, Texas was a place of interest to Spain to secure the frontier against the French, and a possible foothold for the French at the mouth of the Mississippi. Renewed missionization and new military garrisons were established to bolster the Spanish claim to Texas after the first French explorers (Foster, 1995). Texas also became the route of Trade between Northern México and Louisiana, despite that trade being technically illegal.

One of the most interesting events in the race for conquest, colonies and souls between Spain and France is the capture of Jean Géry, the first French South Texan. The spelling of his name, his age and true origin are not clear. He was found by the Spanish just north of the Río Grande, northwest of Duval County in the Sothern Plains with a band of many Native American wives and children. He was an older man, estimated around fifty at the time of his capture, and his Spanish captors claimed he was demented because Géry claimed the Native Americans of Texas were going to revolt against Spain aided by the French. Géry started his association with the Spanish through a war against them, but he ended up leading Coahuila governor Alonso De León and Father Damián Manzanet in an exploratory mission from Monclova through Texas (Foster, 1995; Manzanet, 1899).

The records associated with this *entrada* tell us about him, Spain and France and the power of rumors in the colonial expansion, as well as give invaluable insights to different Coahuiltecan and Caddoan Indian cultures. Captured in 1688, Géry identified himself as a deserter from the La Salle expedition of 1685. First De León interrogated him, and then he was taken to México City and interrogated again, giving different answers each time. The archives of these interrogations record his name as "Yan Jarri," and state that he was a native of St. Jean d' Orléans, France (Manzanet, 1899). His answers about why he was in Texas were fantastical. However, Spain and New Spain operated in fear of French incursions into their claimed territories, so Géry's presence in Texas was taken seriously.

An *entrada* into Texas was undertaken with Géry as a guide, partially to quell fears of a French-inspired Indian uprising that Géry had claimed was happening in Texas. De León, Manzanet and Géry searched for and found the French fort on a big river to the east

he had described. Following Géry's map sketched from memory and local guides that Géry was able to speak to, Fort St Louis was found in 1689. This trip was De León's third large scale expedition in search of La Salle's colony, and the only one to actually find the remains of Fort St. Louis. *Entradas* were huge affairs with numerous cattle, goats, chicken, soldiers and priests marching across Texas. Despite Géry's occasional "confusion", he assisted through navigation and extensive knowledge of local Native American customs languages and terrain. Géry identified the Matagorda Bay as the place he had landed with "*Monsieur Felipe de la Gala*" or La Salle (Manzanet, 1899).

Upon returning to Coahuila, De León sent Géry to the Río Grande to await visitors expected from the Hasinai, or Tejas, Indians in eastern Texas, and that is the last archival trace of one of the first French Texas residents. After he left, De León and Father Damián Manzanet set out to found missions among the Tejas, in 1670 De León recorded in his travel diary "On this journey I sorely missed the old Frenchman, because of his knowledge of all the Indian languages of the region. He was always found faithful. Only with his help was it possible to discover the settlement he came from" (Canedo, 1968).

Duval County was located on the trade route between Monterrey and presidio Los Adaes. Géry may have been the first French traveler to walk through Texas, but he was not the last, in the 1700's, French Louisiana had Native American trade partners who traded skins for guns. The Spanish had outlawed trade of guns to Native Americans. Later traders like French Canadian Louis Juchereau de St. Denis undoubtedly passed through Duval when he traveled the Río Grande near Laredo where Commander Diego Ramón arrested him for trade violations in 1713. St. Denis eventually married Ramón's granddaughter,

Manuela Sánchez, and participated in the Ramón expedition into Texas. This structure of peace did not last for St Denis, who died a Spanish captive, but his many children and grandchildren and similar French ancestors in the Spanish colony added to the history of Texas and Louisiana and complicate the idea of a monolithic French or Spanish Colonial era in Texas (Chipman, 1992). My great grandfather Gonzalo Baraz moved to Duval from Guerrero, and claimed to be of French descent through his father, but he left his father who was a blacksmith, and lived on the Garza Rancheria became a Vaquero and he married a Garza, and adopted the last name.

MÉXICO

After México became independent from Spain in 1821, and Texas became part of the United States in 1836, the borderlands socio-political landscape was still dependent on the relations between larger nations. Texas was separated from México on paper, but the trade and relationships across the border were not severed making the people in both nations inexorably linked. Texas was marked by colonial tension, suspicion and swift and violent retribution along the Texas México border at the end of the 1800's. The political conditions and popular revolutions in México against Spain set the stage for similar rebellion in Texas. To understand the Plan de San Diego, and San Diego, Texas, the historic socio-political situation in México have to be taken into account alongside the early historic Spanish and Native American histories of this place.

In 1876 Porfirio Díaz became president of the Republic of México, a position he held for 27 years. Díaz had risen to power as early as 1874, and continued to have influence

after his official presidency. The Díaz regime was relatively peaceful and prosperous for some elites in México and Texas, this government built trade including the Mexican side of the international railroad system that eventually ran through San Diego, TX and many labeled the relative peace in this era *pax porfiriana*. The Díaz regime also sold natural resources, and developed international trade including the Texas Mexican Railroad. This prosperity and income was slanted towards the richest members of society, and as the chasm widened between wealthy and poor, the conditions for a social revolution grew. The Díaz regime built the first modern rail and road infrastructure and trade in México, but its policies also built resentment and inequality (Parkes, 1950).

In 1910 the Mexican people organized a popular revolution, led by Francisco Madero. The movement aimed at gaining equal constitutional rights denied many mestizo and Indigenous Mexican citizens under the Díaz regime swept through the Mexican States and former territories (Brenner, 1971). This revolution was also a response to the large amount of land owned by groups and investors from outside of Mexico and regional oligarchic interests that left the majority of the population landless and disenfranchised. The Madero revolution started with what is also known as the Plan de San Luis, and succeeded in overthrowing the Díaz government on May 25, 1911. Díaz's resignation did not settle the dispute started with the Plan de San Luis calling for land and rights for Indigenous people. This Plan is just one of many highly polished written political speech acts produced in México and its territories, drawing on international socialist and social movements for rights, and serving as the template for later proclamations of irredentist and socialist ideas similar to the Plan de San Diego.

Madero won, but the conditions along the United States border and in México were not peaceful. Fueled by the nationalist rhetoric and search for rights, the Mexican Americans in Texas embraced political speech in local Spanish language papers and International Workers of the World (IWW) and socialist society meetings. The writings of the indigenous writers and activists the Flores-Magón brothers were welcomed by a number of the United States Mexican descent populations during the Madero government, as it followed a popular call for independence. While the Plan de San Diego is very similar to other Plans and Anarchist writings, Ricardo Flores-Magón never took credit for writing it (MacLachlan, 1991). Counter-revolutions and plots were rampant in the Northern Mexican States and south Texas. President Madero was quickly thrown out, and he was murdered in a military coup.

There were divisions between northern Mexican States and southern Mexican States during the Madero years. There was also unity of the Mexican people, including the connections cemented across borders with former territories as Mexican Americans welcomed political refugees and thought. This unstable political climate was coupled with the influx of Anglo settlers into Texas and California. In Texas, the General land office was created to deal with the many Spanish and Mexican land grants, reapportioning some land according to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, but many Texas Mexican Americans were still living in México and had not returned to Texas to claim their lands or had lost land claims during this time (Cumberland, 1952).

Victoriano Huerta became President of México on February 19, 1912. The Huerta regime was similar to the Díaz system with a support base of the wealthy landowners,

church, army and foreign interests. The Huerta rule ended with the proclamation of the Plan of Guadalupe on March 26, 1913, when Venustiano Carranza, who was supported by northern Mexican states and as far south as Chiapas, took control of the counter-revolution. Emiliano Zapata led a similar violent revolution in Southern México. Huerta was not recognized by the United States, and eventually the Mexican people succeeded in a popular revolution which forced him out in July, 1914. Huerta supporters then joined Madero supporters and other Mexican political exiles in the borderlands and around the world. Across the border in the United States, trouble was brewing in south Texas following the political assassinations of Mexican American elected officers in San Diego.

Carranza was only President for a short time before he was challenged by his lieutenant José Doroteo Arango Arámbula, better known along the Texas-Mexican Border and the United States as *Pancho Villa*. Revolutionary conditions prevailed in México, and this instability had a tendency to overrun the border through media and family ties. With World War I looming, Texas citizens of Mexican descent were being both pulled into the Mexican Revolution and away from Texas as they tried to avoid the draft into the United States forces. This violent turbulent time of revolutions and counter revolutions produced irredentist sentiments similar to those in México in Texas and the Southwestern United States (Bemis, 1959).

By 1914, there were many disturbances along the border, the Carranza government did not try to contain the revolutionary elements or stop the raids into the Río Grande Valley. In The United States, German spy networks were widely suspected of infiltrating socialist worker organizations and reaching out to German Texan settlements as the United

States was siding with the Allies in WWI. Huerta and Madero supporters still occupied the United States side of the border in political exile reading and writing politics alongside Texas and California journalists and politicians. Many other Madero or Huerta supporters were jailed in México. Many politically disparate factions of Mexican Americans waited in the borderlands to see what the outcome of the wars in México would be in México, the Anglo residents of South Texas expressed fear in the Corpus Christi and Río Grande valley newspapers and in personal correspondences that the revolution would spread across the border. The fear, rumors and headlines about Mexican Americans revolting eventually pressed Texas government officials to appeal for federal troops to the United States Government, pleas that were not headed. The United States federal government deemed the border unrest a local problem and mostly ignored the social revolution in México while focusing on Europe and WWI (Coerver, 1984). Mexican Americans witnessed the revolution in México, a rebellion where the majority of people were seeking constitutional equality and overthrowing tyranny and oppression. News of this social movement for rights and recognition struck a chord when it reached an audience of people of Mexican descent living in Jim Crow Texas.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

San Diego, Texas is a place of revolution that has never been commemorated nationally or by the State. It is also one of the oldest towns in what is now Texas, with businesses that have continuously operated since the early 1800's or earlier, but these sites in San Diego have not been nominated for historical markers by outside groups, or examined archaeologically for academic purposes. The community has not been studied on the micro-scale nor had extensive oral history taken. The site of the Plan de San Diego and how the socioeconomic landscape of the place that created the Plan de San Diego have been forgotten while scholars have focused on the ramifications of the document.

The period of chronological significance surrounding the Plan de San Diego is roughly 1900-1950, pivotal years in the legal and cultural formation of the Mexican American identity. While there is no scholarship that focuses directly on the city of San Diego during the time of the Plan, there are texts that discuss the international connections, the social importance, and the political aftermath of the Plan de San Diego in Texas. Many authors have made their careers and published books about the Plan de San Diego. Of these, one book chapter was written by a San Diego native, and only one of the other Authors bothered to visit San Diego or interview the residents.

Harris, Hager, Sandos, and Young all focus on international connections of the Plan de San Diego, discrediting San Diego residents with any authorship and attributing the text to Flores-Magón or international plots (Coerver; 1984, Harris C. H., 2007; Harris III, 1978; Hager, 1963; Heber-Johnson, 2003; Heber-Johnson, 2004; Sáenz, Insurrection in the Texas

Mexican Borderlands: The Plan of San Diego, 1999; Sandos, 1992). Dr. Candelario Sáenz is from San Diego. William Hager is the only author who actually went to San Diego. Hager did not believe the first-hand account he got from Mr. John "The Judge" Southerland, who informed him that the Plan was in fact hatched in San Diego that Southerland not only witnessed revolutionary activity, but he reported it to the Department of Justice. That report was not included in the Department of Justice files, but dated Feb 4, 1915, it clearly states: "The Plan of San Diego, Texas, is dated January 6th 1915. There is nothing to indicate to the contrary that it was not signed and executed in the United States" but the FBI agents were not heeded by academics (FBI, p. 6).

There are two authors who attribute some agency and authorship to San Diego residents Benjamin Heber- Johnson and Candelario Sáenz. Heber-Johnson first wrote about the Plan ion his dissertation and articles in which he attributed the Plan de San Diego to Ricardo Flores-Magón and international plots, but later he completely changed his views and wrote that the residents of San Diego and Laredo could have influenced the Plan after Sáenz published his book chapter. Heber-Johnson then wrote *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans,* positing that the Plan de San Diego was part of a larger "Tejano civil war" linked to the Catarino Garza war, the person that he wrote his master's thesis on. This movement to reclaim rights and land was part of a trend of local and international stands against oppression (Heber-Johnson, 2003, p. 70). Heber-Johnson focuses politically mobile Tejano Progressives, from the Río Grande valley, he suggests that after the murder of political figures in San Diego they organized and wrote a plan for action. Heber-Johnson connects

the Plan to regional legal and civil rights movements, but he does not focus on the connections of the Plan to the city of San Diego or any of the political groups there. While I understand the importance and impact of the Plan outside of San Diego, I wonder if the de-emphasis of San Diego and San Diego residents is a reflection on the infamy the place gained as a violent and dangerous place after the discovery of the Plan and not a reflection on the wealth of information that ties the Plan to San Diego.

Dr. Candelario or "Candy" Sáenz, is a San Diego native and grandson of the one of the men whose murder's set the writing of the plan into effect, used oral history to support his argument that the Plan as a home grown reaction to local violence against Mexican Americans. He is the only author that agrees with the original Department of Justice notes that the Plan de San Diego was authored by San Diego residents, and he bases that on oral history from a number of sources. Sáenz knew John "The Judge" Southerland, a neighbor of the socialist bar on Victoria Street, who claimed to have tipped off the Department of Justice. He also knew and interviewed murder witnesses and IWW members. While Hager still dismissed San Diego residents of incapable of authoring the plan despite primary sources, Sáenz countered that dismissal with multiple international socialist connections and primary sources in San Diego. Basilio Ramos stated that the Plan de San Diego was written in San Diego and taken to his former teacher Agustin Garza who was in jail in Monterrey. Lulu Rogers, who witnessed the murders and testified against the murderers was also a member of the socialist group in San Diego.

Sáenz spoke at a memorial for the descendants of the murder victims, and he stated that: "Many are tempted to see the murders as a plot by Anglos to put down the Mexicans to completely take over the county. But on reflection, I find this wrong…They probably just meant to scare him with the guns… They were supercharged with machismo. We're dealing with four men who could have benefited from anger management. But my father liked black-and-white images of Anglos versus Mexicans" (Corpus Christi Caller Times, Monday, June 4, 2012). Not all the descendants of the murdered men feel the same; neither did all the community members who attended the memorial almost one hundred years after the murders.

San Diego was a town of prosperous Mexican Americans who were being pressured and attacked by the new Anglo population, the acquittal of the murderers was part of a wider Jim Crow pattern of violence and occupation, and the written rebellion was a direct result of those injustices. The Plan de San Diego called for sovereignty for Blacks, Mexicans, and Indians, a precursor to the United States Civil Rights movement, and was launched directly after the public murder of three San Diego residents by a group of Anglos, were acquitted in a trial where the Judge in Richmond, Texas stated: “If I had been there, I would have killed that bunch of Mexicans myself” (Sáenz).

Plan de San Diego

National media attention and the historical gaze shifted to San Diego with the discovery of the Plan de San Diego, but when the rebellion threatened on paper did not materialize as promised, the Calvary was posted in south Texas alongside the Texas Rangers and violence ensued against all persons of Mexican descent. Many internal political divisions from within and outside the Tejano community manifested in reaction to the alleged plot, there was also outrage and violent reactions to the Rangers and Calvary's takings of property and livestock for provisions while searching for the plotters. The retaliation of the Texas Rangers and United States Congress to this written rebellion was swift and fatal, even though the revolution never happened as written in the Plan, much blood was shed in the aftermath. Heber-Johnson cites 5,000 Mexican Americans dead in retaliation after the failure of the Plan de San Diego (Heber-Johnson, 2003, p. 181). Heber-Johnson focuses on the Brownsville politician J.T. Canales's legal charges against the depredations of Texas Rangers documented in the Texas House of Representative's archives after the Plan was discovered. He also covers the broader fight for legal rights for Mexican Americans and the formation of League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in Corpus Christi, TX. Heber-Johnson writes that the formation of LULAC by Texas Mexican Americans was a distancing from Mexican nationals (Heber-Johnson, 2003). While the repercussions of the Plan including distancing from Mexican identity are well documented, and now LULAC is seen as an assimilationist, conservative, anti-Mexican and anti-working class organization its foundation was actually one of strident

political activism and solidarity with Mexican citizens as Cynthia Orozco's work shows (Orozco, 2009).

José Tomás Canales (J.T. Canales) and LULAC are both stories following the Plan de San Diego that illustrate important political divisions and vital parts of the quest for equal treatment and civil rights for Mexican Americans in Texas, but Heber-Johnson does not connect these movements in south Texas to the people who lived in the town the irredentist plot was named after. By ignoring San Diego residents, he unintentionally adds to the silences surrounding the story of the birthplace of the irredentist written rebellion. He shows the connections to future legal struggles and the reaction of the border region but leaves out a significant discussion of the story of San Diego: the people who lived in the place the Rebellion was named after.

Before the Plan de San Diego, there were revolts and rebellions against *La Invasión Norteamericana* (American Invasion) as the annexation of Texas, New Mexico, California, and Arizona, Colorado, Nevada and parts of Montana is called in México. Candelario Sáenz offers an important inside story in his article, demonstrating both the effects of "internal colonialism" in San Diego, Texas and the creation and reification of History that often leaves out parts of the past (Sáenz, Insurrection in the Texas Mexican Borderlands: The Plan of San Diego, 1999, p. 88). With access to family records and interviews that other authors did not have, Sáenz fills in details of the murders: his grandfather Candelario Sáenz, Pedro Eznal and Antonio Anguiano were gunned down on the courthouse steps in 1912, and despite many witnesses, the murderers were acquitted, that led to the writing of the Plan. Sáenz demonstrates and humanizes the global connection in San Diego with

stories about IWW, school ties and trips to Cuba by family members to avoid retaliation once the plan was discovered. He also compiles pertinent published accounts that "discredited" San Diego residents at the time of his article and respectfully shows through his family history and interviews how people in San Diego were educated, well read and capable of authoring such a sophisticated plan. Unlike Harris, Sandos, Sadler, and even Heber-Johnson, Sáenz conducted first person interviews with witnesses of the murders and members of the PLM (Sáenz, Insurrection in the Texas Mexican Borderlands: The Plan of San Diego, 1999, p. 96). Sáenz noted possible sites where the Plan could have been written, being the first author to directly connect the timing of the Plan de San Diego with the arrival of news of the acquittal of the murderers of Mexican American political leaders in San Diego. When news that C.K. or Charley Gravis, Dr. Sam Roberts, Frank and Neil Robinson had been acquitted, some San Diego residents reacted with a written rebellion. The Plan date corresponds exactly with San Diego receiving news of the acquittal of Gravis, Roberts and Robinson by an Anglo, east Texas jury in Richmond where they were taken for a "fair" trial by peers.

Sáenz had unprecedented access as a member of the family of the murdered deputy, but the connections between San Diego's socialist movement and the economic and material conditions in San Diego for all residents before, during, and after this rebellion are widely noted. Sáenz brought community voices and on the ground in the form of family interviews and research to the story of the Plan, but there are still documents and material evidence that were not included in his study that would bolster his groundbreaking angle on the Plan de San Diego. Sáenz challenged the idea that the Plan was authored elsewhere,

or was European in origin. Later, Heber-Johnson modified his views on the Plan and cited Sáenz heavily in giving some credit to San Diego residents. To develop a historical review of the Plan that includes the whole San Diego community, Sáenz's work needs to be extended to include more voices in San Diego. Authors such as Heber-Johnson have elaborated the possible international and national effects of the Plan de San Diego. The connections in the local community and lives of local residents need to be explored the same way, even in the silence surrounding the existence of the Plan. This will not only provide San Diego its place in History, but also give credit where credit is due for the rebellion and survival. Sáenz sums up the need for this research best:

> What is surprising is that such a richly documented, major violent uprising by the Mexican Americans of South Texas remains unknown. It is completely unmentioned in the standard US History curriculum taught in schools. Perhaps the reason this is the case lies in the bias of US Historians, who fall over themselves to present American history as effortless and unproblematic in the area of assimilation of minority populations. The events I have just described tell another story, one of violent resistance of an ethnic minority to its economic degradation and political disenfranchisement following and equally violent act, an ambush sought to "ethnically cleanse" this minority of its leaders. And this violence was played out against the rhythms of global capitalism. When the ethnic minority was prosperous due to its wool production, marry them; when the bottom had dropped out of wool and the prosperity was gone, kill them (Sáenz, 1999, p. 104).

This story of resistance and survival needs to be expanded upon, so that San Diego is not forgotten and the genocide that followed resistance is recognized. San Diego has been infamous as a violent place after the discovery of the Plan, even though the triple homicide and later mass murder by arsenic were perpetrated on San Diego residents by recent immigrant Anglos. This infamy and the later political scandals have haunted the town for

decades. "Machismo gone mad" was the Texas Monthly cover in 1988 about an alleged rape in San Diego. Well into the 90's the past (alleged) violent acts in San Diego have shaped representation and history of San Diego as a violent community including the Handbook of Texas. San Diego is the site of a plan that aimed at violent independence from Texas, and one that brought violent retribution to Mexican Americans.

Mexican American Studies

Following Ian Haney López's *White by Law*, I am using the legal definition of Mexican American to define the majority of the residents of San Diego. Haney López points to the legal construction of citizenship and race as the one unifying experience of Mexican Americans in the United States (Haney López, 1996). This definition is useful in San Diego, Texas where the legal ramifications of race and ethnicity appear in the archival record surrounding the rebellion of the Plan de San Diego. You can see the ethnogenesis of the Mexican American identity in census data and court battles and property disputes after the annexation of Texas.

Haney López links the multi-racial and ethnically diverse Mexican American people through the shared racialized legal experience of Mexican descendant community post-annexation by the United States. This etic definition focuses on shared experience, as opposed to other emic individual ethnic community definitions, which vary from place to place. This racialization of Mexican Americans was useful in fighting discriminatory race based laws and practices. The people of Mexican descent who were granted United States citizenship following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo also self-identified as Indígenas, Chicano, Latino, Californio, Tejano and other terms, while the census categorizes all as Hispanic. In the years leading up to the Plan de San Diego, the legal and social definitions of Mexican Americans were formed and solidified both from within the group and through outside pressures and laws.

The Plan de San Diego shaped the laws and self-identification of Mexican Americans, and it influenced a historical and academic corpus of work dealing with Mexican Americans and the social interactions between groups along the Texas-Mexican border. Scholars such as Martha Menchaca, David Montejano, Daniel Arreola, and Candelario Sáenz have identified ways the Plan de San Diego had impacts on the Mexican American Diaspora in Texas and the United States (Menchaca, 2001; Montejano, A Journey through Mexican Texas, 1900-1930: the making of a segregated society, 1982; Arreola D. , 2002). This scholarship is vital to understanding Mexican American studies, the continuum of occupation of Mexican American historical sites, and the importance of recognizing the difference between Spanish colonial and Mexican American experiences, especially in light of historic discrimination against Mexican Americans. The Plan de San Diego had an impact on Mexican American studies, but the place was forgotten and almost embargoed, though it was marked by the rebellion through infamy and bad reputation for years afterwards. One example of the disrespect San Diego residents receive from history is the handbook of Texas article that calls early residents of Texas transients and claiming the town had a tradition of violence (Kohout, 2013).

While San Diego as a community has not been studied, the Plan and the formation of regional and national Mexican American identity has been an academic subject as many Mexican American studies scholars cite the resistance in the Plan de San Diego as crucial to the formation of Mexican American identity and collective memories. Martha Menchaca, David Montejano, Daniel Arreola, and Candelario Sáenz, have all cited

resistance and cohesion as two of the strengths of the Mexican Americans in the face of larger agricultural, economic, and political oppression.

Martha Menchaca detailed the historic racial status hierarchies that were used to disempower people and remove land rights and legal status from racialized Mexican Americans in California in *Recovering history, constructing race: the Indian, Black and White roots of Mexican-Americans* (Menchaca, 2001). These historical accounts show the trajectory from the Spanish colonial period to the Jim Crow law era. Menchaca's study of California shows a broad national timeline and the experiences of restricted rights, discrimination, and loss of land that also occurred in Texas. Menchaca uses archival details to show what life was like in the historic Mexican American period in California, pointing out historical reasons that the Mexican American historical experience is generally underreported and underrepresented. Menchaca also shows the racial connections of Mexican Americans to Blacks and indigenous people, and in doing so shows the history of discrimination and disempowerment. Through census records, archival data, and legal research she shows how the mission and Spanish colonial periods in California are directly connected to the historic Mexican American period.

Menchaca tracks how the changes in chosen and imposed ethnic identities of *Californios* and Mexican Americans are directly tied to Native Americans and Spanish and later colonial Mexican residents (Menchaca 2001). The importance of Spanish missions and Native Americans to the formation of Mexican American people is evident in her view that "Mexican Americans were part of the indigenous peoples of the American Southwest" (Menchaca, 2001, p. 26). Menchaca demonstrates the clear connection between many

indigenous people and Mexican Americans, showing the connections to Native American groups and the continuation of occupation and culture as well as the ethnogenesis of Mexican Americans from Native Americans (Menchaca, 2001, p. 2).

Martha Menchaca's book *Naturalizing Mexican Immigrants: A Texas History*, about early Texas Mexican Americans, is one of the models for my research. In this book, Menchaca analyzes the naturalization history of Mexican immigrants in Texas and shows the context of immigration, rights, and electoral politics that directly influenced the Plan de San Diego and the community of San Diego (Menchaca, 2011). Following in Menchaca's research, I will show some of the census data and how the media coverage of the San Diego rebellion changed how San Diego Residents self-identified. Title, real estate and marriage records also show how people who lived in this community interacted. During the years surrounding the irredentist plot San Diego saw increased immigration from México, and the events that led up to the Plan de San Diego and the struggles in the town can be traced through voting records and compared to state and national trends that Menchaca outlined (Menchaca 2011).

My research is centered on a plot written by a small political group organized in San Diego, Texas. This group consisted of both Mexican Americans who gained citizenship through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and naturalized United States citizens who emigrated from México after the Treaty. The community of San Diego also included German, Jewish, and Anglo immigrants, and Menchaca goes into detail about the Texas Euro-American's anti-German immigrant and anti-Mexican attitudes around this time, using broadsheets that grouped the two ethnic groups together as dangerous Catholic

influences in Texas. The long standing German population, and their shared persecution possibly explains why the Plan de San Diego raiders led by Aniceto Piñaza later spared German settlers. I see this research as an extension of the work on electoral rights and immigration attitudes Menchaca does in her study of Texas. Menchaca's detailed research includes legal struggles, specific court cases, media representations, and local histories. She combines immigration and voting data about Texas Mexican Americans to show trends on the state, national and international level. On the micro-scale, the community of San Diego is an important addition to this history of Mexican Americans in Texas, because it is an opportunity to add details about how Mexican-Americas and others in this community lived day-to-day building on the material Menchaca presented. This study is a historical recovery project that is directly tied to important current issues surrounding immigration, Mexican Americans, and current issues of representation.

In *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* David Montejano writes about class structure in south Texas through the 1920s. Montejano notes that resistance to hegemonic societal and immigration pressures was crucial to the formation of Mexican American identity and collective memories. In particular, Montejano follows the Mexican American populations' historical and economic history in Texas through the distribution of property and the emergence of a Mexican American identity. Mexican American communities pre-dated the Anglo occupation, yet they were subjugated, discriminated against, removed from traditional lands, and expatriated to México despite United States citizenship, lynched following annexation (Montejano, 1982).

Montejano notes that the Mexican American population was largely relegated to manual labor jobs on ranches and farms working as *Vaqueros* cattle herds or cowboys, or *Campesinos*, agricultural workers planting and picking crops. Montejano shows that this labor was similar to sharecropping, because they were not paid living wages, but rather worked ranches for places to live. Skilled labor occupations were scarce, and there was little upward mobility for the racialized laboring Mexican Americans. They were vulnerable to both ethnically Mexican and Anglo ranch and farm owners both economically and politically, paving the way for future political bosses or patrons who harnessed their votes to win the elections.

Montejano shows clearly that Texas Mexicans (or Tejanos) were suppressed through force and unfair legal structures, similar to situations experienced by Mexican Americans in California and New Mexico. He cites resistance and cohesion as two of the strengths of the Mexican Americans in the face of larger agricultural, economic, and political oppression, especially resistance through survival and continued occupation of lands (Montejano, 1987). Montejano refers to the marriage coalitions between the Mexican American elite and whites, such as those found in the border regions and in San Diego, as a way to keep land and structure peace; this is evident in legal, census, and property records (Montejano 1987). Marriage coalitions, property distribution, and family patterns have not been extensively mapped in San Diego or the border region. Detailing and listing these marriage and political coalitions alongside historic property distributions are crucial in Mexican American archaeology.

Historic Studies of San Diego

The most widely read text about San Diego is, at first examination, not related to the Plan de San Diego at all. But this popular book is intricately tied to San Diego's reputation in the aftermath of the Plan, and like all the published historical accounts of Duval County, it was written by a person from outside the community. *The Duke of Duval* by Dudley Lynch was the first journalistic historical account of San Diego and Duval County (Lynch, 1976). The book centers on the Parr family, and "boss" rule, without examining the ties to the local community and the early political associations between the Parr's and local residents, or looking at the Plan de San Diego and the colonization of Texas. The Parr family has been written about by many other authors, both from within the community in the form of unpublished master's theses (Perez, 2003) and by outsiders who published their experiences with the Parrs and Duval (Clark J. E., 1995; Crimm, 2003).

John Clark wrote *The Fall of the Duke of Duval: A Prosecutor's Journal* about Duval County politics and political "bosses". Clark covers the period that followed directly after the Plan de San Diego and the political impact of the Plan on Anglo-Mexican relations in Duval County in a journalistic style similar to *In Cold Blood* by Truman Capote (Clark J. E., 1995). While this prosecutor's for-profit, tell-all book is about his experiences prosecuting the boss rule in Duval County, it also includes interviews of residents and shows how people lived following the Plan de San Diego. Clark fails to see the structure of peace through marriage and multi-ethnic roots of the Mexican American population with the Parrs in San Diego and does not connect these events after the Plan to the milieu of the

earlier rebellion. He also overlooks details like marriages between the "boss" Parrs and Mexican Americans, and the Plan de San Diego and the socio-political factors that lead to "boss" rule. Instead he followed a stereotypical trope of *encomienda* or *Patrón* behavior and clear divisions between Mexicans and Anglos.

While there was minority of Anglos in power in Duval, many of them had Mexican American families, and fought for rights and schools and against poll taxes: these stories are all linked and cannot be told and contextualized without each other. The Parr Family kept the Texas Rangers and cavalry out of Duval County, keeping much of the violence the rest of the state experienced after the Plan out of the place it originated. In 1878 some 2,000 federal troops had been stationed in San Diego, to protect the town from "raiders", but after the Plan, Senator Archie Parr refused troops and Rangers entry to Duval, most likely saving lives of local residents during an era where Mexicans were summarily shot for resisting in nearby communities. The Duke of Duval is an integral piece to any study of San Diego and rebellion; but it lacks inclusion of early Duval history and in depth theorization of the racialized experiences of San Diego residents as well as context for the claims it makes that can only be accessed through interviewing more of the families that were written about, not only the families whose stories corroborated Clark's hypothesis.

Another work that deals with the spatial and visual aspects of San Diego is Daniel Arreola's "Plazas of San Diego" (Arreola D. , 1992). This article notes the unusual existence of two plazas in the town of San Diego, crediting the boom of Mexican American business ownership along with the annual fiestas with this two-plaza layout. Arreola notes the long traditions of the two plazas in San Diego in this article, comparing it to other south

Texas Plaza towns. In Tejano South Texas, Arreola gets the name of the one Catholic Church in San Diego (St. Francis de Paula) wrong, he calls it St. Francis de Pabla. He also notes the dates of the founding of the township according to the Handbook of Texas (1858) which is much later than the archival records of San Diego residents which hold the town existed in 1809, and early ranches predate that to the 1700's. Arreola does explore the unusual social dynamics and built environment of the town of San Diego, unusual in its two plazas, which follows the New World Spanish plaza layout with slight variations. He notes:

> Usually, there are two plazas, one like the classical model and the other a commercial or market plaza. Also, regular plazas tend to be off-center from the street grid. The study concluded that the classical model was not an idea first developed in Spain or Europe and then transplanted in America but was an adaptation to conditions in America, including legislation like the Laws of the Indies of 1573 (Arreola D. , 1992)

Arreola argues that the South Texas region is a 'Tejano Homeland' in the book *Tejano South Texas: A Mexican American Cultural Province*, and that the area's residents and their built environment have a unique blend of Mexican and American customs and traditions (Arreola D. , 2002).

The influence of Spanish and later Mexican *Vaquero* culture amongst the rural populations and settlements manifests itself throughout the regions' in spatial layout, architecture, and plazas of San Diego. Arreola does not analyze local popular traditions or politics of the region in depth, but rather sets the stage for future research. Arreola does incorporate economic and census data that brings interesting questions about the prosperity of south Texas before and after the Plan, such as the impact of wool production ceasing after the Plan and the importance of cotton income to the Mexican American middle class

in San Diego. Two significant issues addressed in this article that I will expand upon in my work are spatial arrangement and subsistence strategies of ethnic groups in San Diego.

Emiliano Calderón, whose wrote a Masters' Thesis on the Pan De Campo Festivals in San Diego built upon Arreola's research. He showed important economic and social structures linked to the spatial arrangement of people in San Diego and how that Plaza formation combines San Diego culture both to Latin American countries and the United States. He explored the commercialized indigenous food festival in depth, tracing its origins in harvest fiestas and its correlates in other regional ethnic and food festivals (Calderón, 2012). The Pan de Campo festival celebrates Vaquero culture through *pan de campo* or Camp (cowboy) bread made in Dutch ovens on open coals, Calderón studied the social and political history of the celebration. The festival renewed early 20th century fiestas in 1978, when it was proposed by Judge Gilberto Uresti and the San Diego City Council as a County funded celebration (Calderón, 2012).

The Pan de Campo festival is a commemorative event linking residents of the present with those of the past Calderón sees the fiesta as creating, symbolizing and reinterpreting Mexican American identity in San Diego. Calderón explores the fiesta held on the fairgrounds of Plaza Alcala and details local food customs such as *tripas, fajitas, cabrito guizado,* and *mollejas* alongside the political trajectory of Duval County post Plan de San Diego. The Pan de Campo was:

> [A]way in which to celebrate their heritage and connect younger generations with those of the past through food, and generate disposable income for their community speaks to the highly complex intersections of politics, economics and culture (Calderón, 2012, p. 29)

The festival also brought regional musicians and money to the small town of San Diego.

Arnoldo De León also addressed some of the South Texas's unique customs and studied the Mexican American cultural traditions of South Texas. He particularly notes commemorative food festivals practiced by the Tejano community such as the Pan de Campo festival, fiestas that were popular and had long histories (De León, The Tejano Community, 1836-1900, 1982). De León also wrote the *Social History of Mexican Americans in Nineteenth Century Duval County* in 1978 detailing Duval County politics in the late 19th and early 20th century (De León, 1978).

According to De León and Calderón, Duval had a more participatory political system than the boss rule in other places in Texas (De León, 1978, pp. 1-4). Judge Gilberto Uresti commissioned De León to write a history of early Duval County. He recorded details of early settlement, including cattle and sheep ranching, and the diversity of agro-pastoral economic pursuits including cotton, onions, and other vegetables as well as wage labor as herdsmen or Vaqueros. A number of local citizens rode the cattle and sheep trials north to San Antonio and beyond to Kansas and Montana. De León noted the impact of the railroad on commerce and political organization, changing the frontier town to a prominent commercial center where sheep and cattle were shipped (De León, 1978)

The Mary & Jeff Bell Library at Texas A & M University-Corpus Christi houses detailed early photos of San Diego. The archive includes seventeen photos taken by photographer Louis De Planque in 1876 that were part of a composite photograph De Planque made of the early ranching community. These photographs show the new County seat of San Diego, some of the residents, buildings and churches. They clearly show a number of architectural styles and houses, as well as the landscape around the town (1876).

A number of De Planque's photos are also at the Briscoe Center for Texas History (De Planque, de Planque, Louis, Photographs, 1870-1885)

In Turn-of-the-Century Photographs from San Diego, Texas Ana Carolina Castillo Crimm and Sara R. Massey provide photographic views of San Diego during 1898-1909, the period leading to the Plan de San Diego. Castillo Crimm and Massy compiled photos donated to the Institute of Texas Cultures by a former San Diego resident that represent the socio-economic and ethnic composition of San Diego, and provide one of the first published histories of early Duval County (Crimm, 2003). These photos provide visual data about the lives and material culture of various residents of San Diego before the Plan de San Diego was written. The photos document the way the sites looked before the rebellion, and associate some stories and clues to material and social practices (Crimm, 2003). Photos provide visual data for the compilation material remains and embodied choices *in situ*. The also give visual cues for oral history so informants can associate stories and the current state of sites to the visual historic record. By showing the material goods and assemblages of residents in use, Crimm and Massey offer invaluable insight into daily life of the people behind the plan de San Diego. The book fails to interview San Diego residents about the historic photos connections to current residents, and also failed to critically analyze the race class or gender of the people in the pictures.

Texas History

Historians have covered the Plan de San Diego as an important document, but they have not addressed San Diego as a site of rebellion. Scholars such as Heber-Johnson, Young, and Sandos focus on the regional bloody aftermath of the failed revolt, the possible international sources of the document, and the United States Cavalry and Congressional reactions to the scare of Mexican revolution as viewed by the Anglo minority. The Plan is widely viewed as the catalyst for killing as few as three and as many as ten Anglo settlers and hundreds of Mexicans in Texas; some authors list up to five thousand people of Mexican descent killed (Heber-Johnson B. , 2004). The Plan de San Diego is noted as the beginning of a particularly anti-Mexican era in Texas, but the cultural landscape of the failed rebellion has not been analyzed. Most historians faced barriers to studying the insular community of San Diego, but my position as a Mexican American researcher from San Diego, with family ties to Duval County allowed greater access to San Diego archives and Duval County residents.

Congressional hearings, ethnic studies, and historical investigations, the messages in the Plan de San Diego and the diverse reactions to it and the conspicuous silence in the town regarded as the birthplace of the Plan all speak to the larger social and political importance of this chapter in Texas history. The multiple layers of the Plan and reactions to it should be included in a study of the events and repercussions of the Plan de San Diego. The Plan de San Diego has been decried by scholars and pundits as racist or a bizarre call to race war, or viewed as the product of larger nations at war and removed in discussions

from the town that bears its name. San Diego's past exemplifies what Michel-Rolph Trouillot calls a "silenced past" (Trouillot, 1995, p. 28). The Plan de San Diego is more than a document, more than just a silenced historical chapter and locale of an actively silenced cultural memory. There is a silence of scholarly exploration of the place itself, the people who lived in San Diego, how they identified themselves and carried out their lives is not accessible to researchers interested in this era or region. The aftereffects of the Plan de San Diego silenced the previous identities of Mexican Americans, and their tenure in Texas. The site of San Diego shows resistance to the economic and cultural racism of Anglo settlers, but it also evidences cultural assimilation and accommodation. In San Diego the Plan is either not heard of, considered a joke written on a napkin in a bar, or dismissed as an embarrassing chapter of the past. Studies of Tejanos or Mexican American formations show waves of colonial disempowerment and the ongoing control over the land and people that forced many populations into less favorable political and economic positions. Remnants of the extensive legal backlash of the Plan toward Mexican Americans, and the political situation that led to the Plan can be seen in the stark outline in San Diego. After the time of the Plan de San Diego, the colonizing groups used the Plan to further their claims to racial and legal superiority as well as to Mexican American lands (Coerver, 1984; Harris III, 1978; Hager, 1963; Montejano, Anglos and Mexicans in the making of Texas, 1836-1986, 1987).

The Plan was denounced as ridiculous, treasonous, and dangerous to Anglos in order to re-enforce land claims established through violence and takings. The Texas Rangers, settlers, and the legal system assaulted the culture, language, religion, and people

of Mexican heritage, including residents of San Diego, as Harris, Sáenz, and Sandos have all pointed out. The Plan de San Diego further divided Mexican Americans in Texas by spurring the formation of LULAC and separating Mexican Americans from Mexican citizens, while the United States forcibly expatriated some United States citizens to México. The Plan also brought the Cavalry and Texas Rangers to south Texas, resulting in the murder and injury of hundreds if not thousands of Mexican Americans when they were rounded up like cattle and summarily shot for "resisting" (Heber-Johnson B. , 2004; Sáenz, Insurrection in the Texas Mexican Borderlands: The Plan of San Diego, 1999; Sandos, 1992). William Carrigan has explored how peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups can devolve to the mob violence and hatred that led to what amounts to a genocide against Mexican in Texas during this era (Carrigan, The Making of a Lynching Culture: Violence and Vigilantism in Central Texas, 1836-1916, 2004; Carrigan, The lynching of persons of Mexican origin or descent in the United States, 1848 to 1928, 2003).

Impact

Telling the story of San Diego will be cathartic for the people of that region and more importantly, Mexican Americans in general have a stake in historical silences regarding their past being broadcast, erasures being un-erased, and historical truths being resurrected. It is immediate because oral traditions concerning the early twentieth century are being rapidly dissipated and even lost. San Diego, Texas is in a unique position due to its tumultuous history and political past evident in clues about the history of this place in multiple archives. Due to the wealth of court battles, investigative reporting, family histories, and Spanish documentation, San Diego is very visible in numerous archives. The material remains of revolution and the formation of Mexican American identities have not been investigated; this global story of colonization, assimilation, and resulting rebellion that is epitomized by events like the Plan de San Diego and its material traces is untold. It is vital to document and preserve the architectural and ethno-historical remains of one of the only multi-ethnic irredentist revolutions in United States History.

While both outside groups and descendant communities have tried to silence this painful chapter, there are still oral traditions surrounding the Plan and its aftermath that need to be documented before the community that was directly affected passes away. The subsequent generations also have information vital to a comprehensive study of the Plan de San Diego, namely the experience of living in a place known for political and ethnic strife. The memory and silencing of the Plan can be seen as a product of the social and political landscape where the written rebellion broke social norms and exercised free

speech that Mexican Americans did not have. A century after the Plan de San Diego, its effects are still being felt, and the silenced past needs to be understood in context and made available to wider audiences as well as descendant communities.

There is a lack of information about historic cultural landscapes in frontier border towns in general, and what towns like San Diego looked like architecturally and how they were constructed socially are vital topics for governments and communities seeking to understand the past and present. While authors have generally dismissed San Diego as peripheral to the irredentist movement and south Texas, this project will show the significance of San Diego's historic cultural landscape to the town and multinational border politics of today. The political atmosphere that led to the Plan had long-term national effects, as well as local changes in the roles San Diego residents played in shaping the border region. The places, people, and events of San Diego and the multiple memories of San Diego are vital to understanding current border politics. The revolution and bloody consequences shaped the group identity and legal situation for Mexican Americans; it also marked an anti-immigrant xenophobic era in Texas. The people involved in the Plan de San Diego went on to work for civil rights for Mexican Americans. While the memory of the Plan de San Diego is preserved in Mexican American studies, History has subsumed the role this place and people played. Right-wing pundits like Alex Jones, use the wording out of historical context to fuel further anti-immigrant and anti-Latino rhetoric, and have not forgotten the Plan, but have re-worked it to fuel further backlashes on the Mexican American community.

The political mobilization and the long-term repercussions of the Plan to the cultural landscape of Texas at the turn of the century has not been documented in San Diego, nor has the significance of place and memory been explored. This study is an integral and important part of Mexican American history. A new view on the multi-ethnic Texas-México borderlands would benefit the fields of history, anthropology, and ethnic studies, among other things. It will be of considerable importance to descendant groups as well and just as importantly to broader audiences in understanding the shaping of the borderlands. Moreover, and to some most important of all, it is a step towards un-silencing the Latino past while helping to clarify the elusive notions of what constituted Latino citizenship in the past and the present.

The broader goal of my research has been to obtain greater understanding of the borderlands at the turn of the century. This provides insight to cultural changes during this period and increase historical knowledge for the larger community. This is one of the first studies to directly include the descendant community's input. The entire Plan de San Diego deserves further study, and the many individuals whose lives and deaths contributed to local, state, and international history who have been forgotten or deliberately silenced need to be recognized. San Diego has a unique status of being one of the only sites of irredentist revolt in United States History and one of the last rebellions in the annexation of Texas by the United States. The city of San Diego also maintains endangered buildings worthy of Recorded Texas Historic Landmark designation, and such historical markers are needed for industry, agriculture, architectural designations, and historic cultural landscape designations.

Internal and external ideological influences on the rebellion of the Plan de San Diego shaped Mexican American identities, but the formation of a Mexican American identity was forced in large part by violence, and the Plan de San Diego played a significant part in eliciting some of that violence. This claiming of a new identity, as protection from outside violence is similar to what Barbara Voss called ethnogenesis in California missions. Voss uses ethnogenesis to describe the conscious rejection of previous racial and ethnic terms and acceptance of new ethnic identities as exhibited for example by California Mexican settlers and multiethnic populations who chose to be called Californios (Voss B. , 2008). The rejection of previous nationalities and racial identifications and the emergence of new cultural identities are different in Texas post- 1915 due to the violence and suppression experienced by Mexican Americans. While Historical Archaeology has addressed agency, race, power, and gender in many other historically underrepresented groups and times, the ethnogenesis of Mexican Americans in Texas has not been looked at in terms of pressures and formation of new identities or archaeological sites worthy of study. Mexican American Archaeology needs to address these different experiences and the formation of the cultural identity of Mexican American people.

I argue that the residents of San Diego changed their ways of life and identities after the failed revolution. I theorize that this shift in identity, or ethnogenesis, was intensified by racialized collective violence and pressure on people of Mexican descent in the borderlands. San Diego experienced ethnogenesis through rebellion and violence, not solely based on choice, but the shift in identity was a political move by the multiracial residents of San Diego in reaction to cultural trauma that followed the backlash reaction to

the Plan de San Diego. Mexican American identity became an agential choice of ethnicity that was both forced and chosen in response to racialized violence. The material record in San Diego is a racialized record, and interpretation of archaeological assemblages will translate to information in other places where race and ethnicity changed post rebellion.

The main historical narrative surrounding the Plan leaves out the epicenter of the revolution, and does not study Mexican Americans as colonized subaltern people who resisted change, survived colonization, and violence and maintain valid cultural memories of that trauma. This study aims to include race, memory, and choice of social and political identification in the archaeology of the revolution. In studying this silenced revolution, I am following Trouillot call for History to engage with the power and production of both silences and inclusions in the historical record by tracing the emergence of new identities forged in rebellion and violence through the materials and places of rebellion and the connections to the larger political landscape (Trouillot, 1995, p. 25).

Mexican American archaeology is one way of un-silencing the past, as Rolf-Trouillot calls for in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History.* Trouillot points out archaeology can reveal the historically silenced past: the foodways, households and gathering places of the revolutionaries and people linked to the rebellion changed and this helped to shape the future of Texas. The continued occupation of San Diego by people of Mexican American descent despite the backlash response of Anglos to the Plan shows resistance and agency in choice of ethnic identity and place. The larger socio-political landscape affected subsistence strategies and spatial settlement patterns that were navigated by Mexican Americans who maintained their relationship to place and traditions

through strategic coalitions. There are no memorials to the silenced past, but there is the archeological record. A historical, archaeological, and narrative exploration of memory through oral narrative in San Diego will detail the material and cultural signature of survival despite persecution, isolation, and military suppression. Oral traditions about the rebellion and the backlash will flesh out the accepted historical account and include active silencing by the community to protect from cultural trauma and outside pressures and show the role of violence on the formation of identities. Memories of violence and victimization survive in local oral traditions; these traditions alongside the stories of survival in harsh environments need to be made public and disseminated to wider audiences both as a means of understanding what happened and to document stories that change over time.

Before 1915, San Diego was an active United States colonial frontier town connected to the United States through trade and immigration post-United States Civil war, but after the 1915 rebellion, San Diego's population shifted, losing most of the Anglos, German-Americans, and other European descendants, and it became an isolated, ethnically Mexican American town. This ethnogenesis forged new multi-ethnic coalitions developed by Mexicans with other groups that had historically allowed them to hold on to traditional lands. During the time of violent takings, anti-indigenous, Jim Crow and anti-Mexican and German-American sentiment and laws, San Diego became insular, and many residents chose Mexican American identities that isolated them from México, Mexicans, and other racial minorities in Texas.

CHAPTER 4: IRREDENTIST REVOLTS

The term *irredentist* was chosen for this research over the terms most often associated with the Plan de San Diego such as revolt, rebellion or sedition because the Plan de San Diego used a specific rhetoric of secession and formation of a new transgressive multi-ethnic Nation-State. This plot aimed at reuniting past connections between Texas and México forming a new Nation that could decide to join México later if that was the popular vote of the people. This is different from a revolt, uprising or rebellion aimed at reforming a nation or forming a more perfect union, different from an indigenous defense of place, or a slave uprising because the Plan de San Diego called on prior multi-ethnic claims to the land and argued for a pan-subaltern uprising based on common oppression. The Plan de San Diego was clearly an irredentist movement aimed at both liberating people from Jim Crow Texas and re-joining past ethnic coalitions.

Irredentist, from the Italian *Irredenta*, or unredeemed, specifically refers to martial movements aimed at reclaiming lands by a group in one nation that is ethnically or historically related to a group in another nation (McMahon, 1998; Chazan, 1991). While the term irredentist first appears referring to the Italian border struggles in the late nineteenth century, it is also associated with the feeling of longing for "unrecovered" lands prior to the pan-Italy movement. Irredentism can be understood as any movement or political ideology advocating separation or annexation of "Irredenta" or lands administered by other states on the basis of common ethnicity or prior historical occupation. Many irredentist movements are a feature of identity politics and cultural and political landscapes,

because political borders are just that, arbitrary political divisions that have been moved and redrawn not ethnic boundaries.

Many nations could have irredentist claims to their neighboring countries, and some countries are irredenta from inception. Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and Africa are examples whose political borders were drawn by third parties after WWI. Political borders can split ethnic populations and create conflicting historical claims to place. My definition of irredentistism also includes indigenous land right movements and revolts of pan-ethnic minority groups in one nation attempting to join with their neighboring historic nations or states. Separatist movements to establish new nations based on real or imagined ties across borders are also irredentist.

San Diego was a place of fluid identities, capital and agribusiness. Ideas and printed media flowed through the town along with the money from the wool clip and the cotton harvest. The national and state identities of the residents had shifted at least four times in the century that produced the Plan de San Diego, ethnic identity was fluid and often changed along with nationality. The anti-colonial movement from Spain in México, Texas's war for independence, the United States civil war and the Mexican Revolution had all left their marks on the residents and shaped the nature of the rebellious writings called the Plan de San Diego. One part of the ethnogenesis of Texas Mexican Americans is the movement of national borders, another is the trans-national connections between different ethnic groups that bridged national borders by populations of Mexican descendant groups that perceived themselves in cultural solidarity despite ethnic differences.

The boundaries of modern Nation-States to not precisely correspond with the settlement patterns of groups who share ethnic identities, as Nations do not shape themselves around nationalities or ethnicities but rather rely on geographic boundaries and treaties. This disparity can lead to irredentist movements, either seeking self-determination or reconnection with larger similar groups in other nations or states. Naomi Chazan includes all action: "to encompass any political effort to unite ethnically, historically, or geographically related segments of a population in adjacent countries within a common political framework" as irredentist (Chazan, 1991, p. 1).

Irredentist movements include border disputes, but not all border disputes and separatist movements are irredentist. Movements can seek to reunite with other groups that are ethnically similar, or can include the joining of different ethnic minorities to form a new Nation state. Border disputes between nations do not always fit this definition. Solidarity, nostalgia and the desire for self-determination and new identities fuel irredentist movements. Successful or failures, any irredentist movement can shape the local and global political landscape. The Plan de San Diego envisioned a new nation, uniting Latino, Black, Asian and Native Americans, and while it didn't succeed, this rhetoric shaped the policies of the United States and México and changed the ethnic identities of people in South Texas. The multi-ethnic coalitions envisioned in the Plan de San Diego were later realized in the Civil Rights movement. This was not the first or the last transgressive political movement in South Texas.

Marc De Socio and Christopher Allen are fearful of future possible Irredentist movements in the United States-México borderlands as evidenced by their 2002 government report on the border published in the Military Review:

> The juxtaposition of identities in MexAmerica, including Anglo, Mexican, and indigenous, has led to a single transnational identity that is potentially at odds with state identities on both sides of the border. MexAmerica is a unique and evolving region that is currently being transformed by powerful cultural, political, and economic processes where the potential for irredentism is clearly present even as the border region continues to integrate more fully (de Socio, 2002)

The American Immigration Control Foundation, an anti-immigration group funded by the eugenics driven Pioneer fund (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2001) predicted a Balkanization of the American Southwest in 1984 citing an impeding: “geopolitical revolution that, soon after if not before 2080, will have transformed the Southwest into either an independent, Spanish-speaking republic of Aztlan or at least a new Mexican state” (Nelson, 1984). This fear of future irredentist actions is echoed in the past newspaper coverage of the border region and the annexation of Texas and the Southwest.

The Plan de San Diego is not the only irredentist revolt in United States History, it is part of a long history of Native American stands against incursion onto traditional lands. The Plan de San Diego is one of the only irredentist movements in the 1900’s, making it one of the last large scale irredentist movements in modern United States history. John L. O’Sullivan coined the phrase "Manifest Destiny" describing United States expansion in 1875, the same year the United States annexed Texas, and started events that led to the Plan de San Diego (O'Sullivan, n.d.).

Irredentist revolts and genocides are often associated with distant pasts or places where many ethnic groups claim the same land, but the long history of revolts against the United States by the Native American and the Mexican descent mestizo populations is often overlooked or silenced in U.S history, or it is romanticized and inaccurately reported. The annexation of Texas did not settle all the border disputes between México and Texas. Instead Texas becoming part of the United States heralded a myriad of revolts from the Native American and Mexicans who occupied the disputed regions. South Texas and Duval County are part of the areas that Salinas and Maestas identify as ancestral lands to the Carrizo-Tuzan-, Julime, Garza or Yemé, Kickapoo and the Nde or Apache. Other Native American groups traditionally gathered peyote in this area, making it a religiously important pilgrimage form groups like the Huichol and other central Mexican tribes (Salinas, 1990; Maestas E. G., 2003). In Duval County, there had been alliances between the Carrizo-Tuzan and the Spanish against the Lipan and Mescaleros in the 1700's (Salinas 1990:93). Later, Nde, Carrizo, and Julime lived in South Texas and shared anti-colonial alliances that possibly led to the expansion of the religious use of peyote and the Native American Church throughout the Plains starting in the 1870's (Maestas E. G., 2003). Many of the residents of South Texas have ties to these indigenous populations, and the Spanish land grant holders as well as the early European settlers.

During the Civil War, Confederate troops garrisoned at the Casa Blanca, the *sillar* building built to withstand migrating Comanche battles in San Diego during the Texas campaign against Indians during 1800-1900 (Anderson, 1999). In 1878 some 2,000 United States troops were stationed in San Diego, ostensibly to protect the town from Mexican

raiders and Native Americans, even though the town was predominantly Mexican and Native American according to the census and oral histories. Identity and ethnicity of the people living in San Diego during the 1800's is a hard thing to pin down, as it often changed with sovereignty or situation. Viewing the Plan de San Diego as an irredentist revolt is one way to examine the ethnicities of San Diego residents because the discovery of the Plan solidified existing identities even as it forged new ethnic identities and coalitions.

Similarly, Andrés Reséndez focused on rebellions in the 1800's in his work on identity in the Texas and New Mexico Borders with México because times of rebellion are ideal times to pin down one identity of people who may have previously had multiple ethnic allegiances:

> My reasoning was that these up, together with the Indian wars and the Mexican American War, constituted pivotal moments that left little room for ambiguity. Rebellions and wars were occasions when frontier residents faced stark and very public choices and were thus forced to act as if they were Mexicans, Indians, Americans or Texans, however uncertain they privately felt about these categories. (Reséndez, 2005, pp. 2-3)

To understand the Plan de San Diego, and the identity choices the residents made, including the later political movements based on the Plan de San Diego, we have to look at the people, the place and the history surrounding it. Spanish colonial rule was based on the hegemonic exploitation of local populations as well as the religious conversion of Native Americans. This imperialism did not always take hold without a fight, there were many wars and treaties that led to the colonization of northern México and southern Texas. The early 1900's was an time of decolonization, when the last European colonies gained independence from Europe, and these revolutions re-kindled past land disputes in the

Western territories. Irredentist movements that preceded The Plan de San Diego, like the Taos revolt in New Mexico where Puebloan and Mexican people united to resist the new United States government, Cheno Cortina's bloody attempt to reunite Texas with México by force and Catarino Garza's written rebellion and IWW organizing all paved the way for San Diego's homegrown political rebellion in the face of persecution.

Taos

New Mexico is the site of one of the successful irredentist revolts in Spanish Colonial History. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 set the stage for later rebellions, and was a successful instance of Native Americans resisting Colonial rule and demanding autonomy and recognition. In the late 1670s, a Native American leader named Po'pay spread the word that he had divine revelation (Sando, 2005). Po'pay preached a message of revivalism and irredentist rhetoric to the Pueblo peoples, calling for the residents of New Mexico to cast off foreign influences and return to pre-colonial lifeways. Po'pay's message spread through Northern México, generating a rebellion among the many groups the Spaniards had lumped together as *Indios de Pueblo* or Pueblo Indians. Po'pay appropriated the Spanish term and used it to create a pan-Indian identity. On August 10, 1680 his vision of freedom and unity was executed, Pueblo warriors burned missions and Spanish residences. The capital of Santa Fe was recaptured and over 400 Franciscan priests and settlers were killed. The surviving Spanish colonists fled the northern Río Grande along with some

Native Americans groups that sided with them, and settled in El Paso, TX. The Pueblo Indians lived autonomously for 12 years in New Mexico.

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 is an irredentist movement: it aimed at reconnecting people based on real or imagined cultural ties to overthrow the political boundaries that were separating them. The emergence of a charismatic leader preaching a message of nativism and revivalism is also similar to the later popular revolution in México. While this rebellion was sparked by a supernatural revelation to Po'pay from deities with flaming fingers, it is still an irredentist movement that echoes in later revitalization and rebellions against oppression in New Mexico and Texas (Sando, 2005). The Pueblo revolt's message spread because a core group of followers carried the message to a larger geographic area. The rebellion transformed the cultural landscape and ultimately preserved Pueblo cultures and communities even after the Spanish recolonized the area by providing treaties for tribal lands and rights (Preucel, 2002). These changes instituted by Po'pay's successful rebellion had lasting effects for generations, in legal cultural and material exchanges.

New Mexico had a different system of colonial settlement than Texas, and a longer history of colonial rule. New Mexico also had a larger, settled Native American population at the time of colonization. Colonial Spaniards used an ethnic category of "*Indios de pueblos*" in New Mexico to differentiate the Pueblo people who lived in semi-sedentary agro-pastoral villages from their nomadic Plains neighbors, though the two groups traded and intermarried frequently. This division of the Native Americans also reinforced the boundary between colonizers and colonized, bolstering power differentials in the colonial mission context, and naturalizing Spanish rule (Preucel, 2002). *Indios de Pueblo* was an

etic ethnic category that grouped different Pueblos, who differed linguistically and culturally, later Native Americans used it as a useful category to mobilize disparate communities in New Mexico against the colonizers (Libmann, 2008; Sando, 2005). This pan-Pueblo identity and shared information pushed the Spanish colonizers out based on the Spanish system of racializing or othering of Native Americans. In 1680, political unity launched collective resistance based on shared cultural traits and created forced the ethnogenesis of a new Pueblo identity, similar to later rebellions in the Southwest and in Texas.

In the 1820's, Stephan F. and Moses Austin petitioned México to revive the *impresario* system in Texas, allowing families who had given up slavery and vowed to convert to Catholicism and be loyal to México to settle in sparsely populated Texas. At this time, New Mexico had an extensive system of Spanish land grants both for farming and grazing lands held by Spanish citizens as well Pueblo Indian lands. Mexican Governors were appointed to oversee the complex system of land grants to individuals and communities, in both states. During the 1840's New Mexico and Texas both saw in influx of land speculation and Euro-American settlers that was unprecedented in their histories.

When the Mexican Governor Manuela Armijo did not raise arms to resist the United States annexation of New Mexico in 1847, Mestizo Mexicans and Pueblo Indians in Taos launched what is now known as the Taos Revolt or the Taos massacres (Lamar, 1962). This unsuccessful irredentist rebellion formed because many residents of New Mexico resented treatment by United States soldiers and government, and feared that Spanish land grants would not be honored. They based this reasoning on prior United States policy

towards Native Americans and mixed race people, as well as the many concurrent attacks on Pueblo rights and lands by United States land speculators in New Mexico. A coalition of Santa Fe Mexican residents plotted to kill the new United States administration and secede, rejoining México, but they were discovered and arrested. This pan-ethnic coalition mirrored the 1680 Pueblo rebellion following Po'pay, but the Taos Rebellion followed had a very different outcome.

While identities were fluid in New Mexico, I think it is important to point out that there were ethnically Spanish, Portuguese, French Canadian, Native American and mestizo Mexican people living there according to the Spanish and later Mexican censuses. It was not a monolithic Spanish and Native American colony. The plot against the United States was started by Mexican citizens, who were discovered and arrested which delayed the uprising but did not defeat the popular multi-ethnic coalition against the United States annexation. Puebloan people joined the rebellion, and in January of 1847 the fighting began in Taos. Pablo Montoya, a Mexican citizen and Tomás Romero a Puebloan led the irredentist revolt. New Mexico has a unique trajectory of ethnogenesis, being located in between the United States, México and the site of thousands of years of occupations by Pueblo Native Americans. New Mexico also had deep ties to Texas and Taos and Santa Fe rebellions were part of larger shifting boundaries and identities. The Taos rebellion is often called a failure by historians, in January 1847 a group of rebels made up of Native Americans, Mexican settlers and others sympathetic to their cause killed Luis Lee, Narcisse Beaubien, and Cornelio Vigil and United States appointed Governor Charles Bent. The murdered men were some of the most aggressive detractors of Pueblo lands and rights and

the largest land speculators. The rebel group also tried to kill Ceran St. Vrain, but he escaped. These Taos murders are called a "massacre" by moist historians even though, at most, 15 United States citizens were killed (Correia, 2013).

These murders did, however, stall the land speculation and derailed the plans of some of the wealthy Euro American settlers to take control of ancestral pueblo lands (Correia, 2013). The revolt was ended by more than 300 United States troops, organized by Ceran St. Vrain, the business partner of the land speculating brothers William and Charles Bent. The 1,500 Mexicans and Pueblo Indians protesting annexation and land grabs were defeated, and some of the rebels retreated to Taos Pueblo where 150 were killed in a church. These deaths are called battles despite the large, almost one-sided death toll and the capture of 400 rebels (Lamar, 1962).

After other battles with similar outcomes many rebels, including the leader Pablo Montoya, were executed. Those taken captives were tried by Judges Joab Houghton, a land speculation associate and friend of Charles Bent and Charles H. Beaubien, and Narcisse Beaubien's father. George Bent, brother of the former governor was the foreman of the jury which included Beaubien's son in law and several friends of the Bents' as there was a shortage of "American" jurors. Ceran St. Vrain served as court interpreter. This court held trials for fifteen days and found 15 men guilty of murder and treason, 28 men were killed publicly after the battles, found guilty of treason and sedition and hanged (Lamar, 1962). Later investigations posthumously exonerated one of the men found guilty of sedition, but the trial proceedings stood in the other cases despite the clear connections

between the murdered men and the Judges and juries trying the accused, and the obvious lack of jury members who were the rebel's peers.

The history of property conflict in New Mexico continued to be filled with similar violence. Later accounts are filled with battles, land investors, irredentist movements and raids into México to kill Pancho Villa. The fence cutting, claim jumping and contested landscapes with multiple ties to place in New Mexico mirror events in Texas. Land grants and Native lands are constantly being re-defined, and they are still pertinent today, as many former grant holders seek mineral rights and royalties that may not have been sold when the land was taken or sold originally. The dispute of prior land claims and rights is a process that is ongoing in all former Spanish colony States. In 2002 the city of San Luis, Colorado won access rights to the former Sangre de Cristo land grant based on prior communal grants (Correia, 2013). In San Diego, Texas I found many local and visiting researchers studying former land grants in the courthouse basement. Mineral rights are a profitable research topic, and many lawyers offer claim services to descendants of land grant holders. Landownership in these former colonies has been changing hands since the beginning of colonization and land rights and access has changed enormously since Mexicans became American citizens in 1848, and the process of sorting out claims is still vital today as it was in the 19th century.

Cheno Cortina Rebellion

Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, known as locally as Cheno Cortina, is an infamous or beloved figure in the 1850's in Texas History. He was called the red raider of the Río Grande because he was known for being *Güero*, light or reddish haired veteran of the United States Mexican war. Cheno was the youngest son of a Tejano family that lost land in the annexation of Texas. He led a Robin Hood-esque series of raids to take cattle from recent Euro-American settlers and give them to displaced Mexican Americans living in México. He is either viewed as a protector of downtrodden Mexican Americans or vilified as a *bandido* by historians (Dobie, 1929; Webb, 1965). His story starts when he found a Brownsville city Marshall beating a man who used to work the Cortina ranch, Cheno rescued the worker and shot the Marshall (Thompson, 2007, p. 38). After that, he lived in exile in México, where he later appointed himself the governor of Tamaulipas. In his varied career he also published broadsheets and supported the Union during the Civil War.

Walter Prescott Webb wrote extensively about Cortina in his famous book *The Texas Rangers*, characterizing him as a charming, but murderous *bandido*. Webb also noted that the Texas Rangers during this time were a "sorry lot" with little formal disciple or governance, and that Rangers publically lynched one of Cortina's generals and generally got away with murder during this era (Webb, 1965). Later authors like Larry Thompson tackled Cheno Cortina's history in a more scholarly way that included sources other than the Army and Texas Ranger correspondences and provide a more balanced view of the Cortina War and the border struggles during this time (Thompson, 2013).

Was Cortina a thief or a folk hero who urged Mexicans to raid cattle that had belonged to their grandmothers? Cortina had urged raider to take back "*nanitas* cattle" (Grandma's cattle) that had belonged to the Mexican Americans before the influx of new Euro-American settlers to the valley. In many cases this was an accurate portrayal of the system enforced by pistol wielding Texas Rangers and governed by corrupt new governments had been systematically "settling" Texas and removing land and property from Mexican Americans who did not have paper deeds. But Cheno was not, as Webb and Dobie describe him, simply a hardened criminal stealing and killing indiscriminately. Cortina was caught between nations at a pivotal time of boundary change, and he tried to redress the takings of land and rights of his fellow Tejanos that he witnessed through written rebellions and raids aimed to redress specific injustices (Thompson 2007).

Much of the violence and raids attributed to Cortina happened after the Rangers lynched one of Cortina's generals on trumped up charges. Cortina rose to power in the decade after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, his targets were a group of Anglo lawyers and judges in Brownsville that he felt were actively stealing land from Tejanos through the court system by not recognizing Spanish and Mexican land grants during this time of governmental reorganization.

Cortina appealed to his Mexican American neighbors in impassioned letters to the editor and broadsheets asking them to fight with him against the injustices he was witnessing them suffer:

> Mexicans! Is there no remedy for you? Inviolable laws, yet useless, serve, it is true, certain judges and hypocritical authorities, cemented in evil and injustice, to

> do whatever suits them, and to satisfy their vile avarice at the cost of your patience and suffering; rising in their frenzy, even to the taking of life, through the treacherous hands of their bailiffs. The wicked way in which many of you have been often-times involved in persecution, accompanied by circumstances making it the more bitter, is now well known; these crimes being hid from society under the shadow of a horrid night, those implacable people, with the haughty spirit which suggests impunity for a life of criminality, have pronounced, doubt ye not, your sentence, which is, with accustomed insensibility, as you have seen, on the point of execution.
>
> Mexicans! My part is taken; the voice of revelation whispers to me that to me is entrusted the work of breaking the chains of your slavery, and that the Lord will enable me, with powerful arm, to fight against our enemies, in compliance with the requirements of that Sovereign Majesty, who, from this day forward, will hold us under His protection. On my part, I am ready to offer myself as a sacrifice for your happiness; and counting upon the means necessary for the discharge of my ministry, you may count upon my cooperation, should no cowardly attempt put an end to my days (U. S. Congress, 1860, p. 80)

The beginning of what is known as the “Cortina War” happened on July 13, 1859 when Cortina rescued his former ranch hand from a Brownsville Marshall, riding out of town with the worker on his horse in a scene reminiscent of legends of his contemporary Joaquin Murrieta in California. In September 1859, Cortina rode back into Brownsville with a group of men and briefly held the town in a raid where five Anglo men, including the city jailer, were shot. Cortina’s army allegedly yelled "Yankee Vampires" and "Viva México!" (Thompson, 2013, p. 38). Cortina swore to kill all the men he felt were guilty of land theft or other depredations including marrying underage Mexican girls in a proclamation from his camp at the *Rancho del Carmen.* Many of Cortina’s sworn enemies escaped or went into hiding. Dobie and Webb excuse the burning of ranches, taking of livestock and outright murder committed by Texas Rangers in one sentence and they vilify Cortina in the next for reacting to violence against his friends and family. Montejano and

Heber-Johnson see Cortina as a social-bandit whose actions benefited the Mexican American community.

Ruth Griffin Spence, a valley resident who wrote a first-hand account of those years titled *The Nickel Plated Highway to Hell: A Political History of Hidalgo County.* Spence noted that during the Cortina years Edinburgh, and all of Hidalgo County, was experiencing many border raids. She stated that after 1859 when his general was killed, Cortina adopted a more violent guerrilla-type warfare, and the United States retaliated in kind, killing at least 150 of his men, and grievously wounding others. She felt the newly United States settled Valley was in ruins from the raiding and plundering, yet she does not attribute any of the ruin or plunder to the Calvary or the Texas Rangers who were pursuing Cortina and have many records of appropriating food and livestock from ranchers (Spence, 1986, p. 24; Thompson, Cortina: Defending the Mexican Name in Texas, 2013). Jovita González de Mireles, Spence's contemporary, also depicted Cortina as a profiteer who used Mexican Anglo conflict for profit showing some of the disagreements in the Mexican American historians' opinions of him (Mireles, 1930).

Texas Governor Sam Houston and others appealed to President Buchanan and Congress for help dealing with Cortina and the border. Robert E. Lee, then in the United States Calvary, was stationed in San Antonio and ordered to the Valley where he joined famous Texas Rangers like Dix and Tobin in the fight against Cortina and his many followers. Lee found Edinburg and its sister city Reynosa fighting across the river, and Lee did actually succeed in bringing about an understanding between the neighboring metropolises according to Ms. Spence in her memoir *Nickel plated Highway to Hell*

(Spence, 1986). Later, during the Civil War, Cortina continued border raids and actively aided the Federal troops, especially fighting against his old enemy General Robert E. Lee as a Union Soldier along with many Mexican Americans (Spence, 1986).

Thompson notes that the Texas Rangers increased the hostility felt by local Mexican Americans by hanging many innocent Mexican Texans after the Cortina Wars in what he calls a "vicious, no-holds-barred bitter guerilla war" against people of Mexican descent that lasted for over thirty years (Thompson, 2013, p. 64). The Cortina War brought young Robert E. Lee the border, changed laws and set a precedent of relations with Texas Rangers and United States officials that set the stage for Catarino Garza and the Plan de San Diego. Mexican American scholars and leaders including J.T. Canales and Américo Paredes cite Cortina as a local hero, who fought for his Mexican American peers. Cortina fought against Jim Crow discrimination. J.T Canales, who protested the treatment of Mexican Americans in the valley after the Plan de San Diego, defended his ancestor Cortina from the contemporary historical attacks of J. Frank Dobie and Walter Prescott Webb, calling Cortina's actions self-defense as he asked the Texas Congress for a stop to the Ranger's violence.

One of the ways south Texas residents dealt with the murders and attacks by Rangers and federal troops was through the popular music style, the *corrido.* These ballads told of the hard times and local residents fights for justice, showing glimpses of the lives and deaths of Texas Mexican Americans who faced the Texas Rangers and Calvary. Songs like the *Corrido de los Rangers* informed people about a gunfight between Texas Rangers and a local Mexican law enforcement official in Brownsville, Texas and passed the news

from community to community through catchy story songs. Cortina's irredentist rebellion corresponds with the first *corridos* in Texas, and Cortina was one of the first *corrido* heroes whose arrest evading raids were immortalized in songs (Garza–Falcón, 1998). *Corridos* normally follow the story of an underdog, usually a Mexican, who fights valiantly and usually dies at the hands of law enforcement or Texas Rangers or *Rinches*. The most famous *corrido* is the story of Gregorio Cortez who won early release after being convicted of killing Sheriffs that ambushed him, beating a biased legal system (Carlos Rodríguez, 2013). There is debate in Mexican American studies about the history and legacy of the Mexican American *corridos,* but the story song style continues to this day, and ballads written at the time of Juan Cortina are still played often. The current war on drugs has spawned a new genre of *narco-corridos* about the current dangers of border crossings and law enforcement facing Mexicans and Mexican Americans in South Texas.

Catarino Garza War

The Catarino Garza Rebellion often came up in my research on San Diego and his writings and rebellion shows the tensions in the border region undergoing profound demographic, economic, and social political change at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. Catarino Garza, the leader of the "*Garcistas"* did have ties to Duval County, but he was not directly responsible for the Plan de San Diego. The "Garza War" did set the stage for further rebellions in the early twentieth century. Forty years after the United States occupied the Nueces strip, Catarino Garza led a rebellion over a six year period, organizing an anti- Díaz movement in both in México and Texas and he traveled and wrote extensively about the Mexican American experiences during this time.

Catarino's life and actions illustrate the level of education, travel and exposure to socialist thought that many Mexican and Tejano men in the late 1800's and early 1900's had, as well as the level of injustice and racism they probably witnessed. Catarino Erasmo Garza Rodríguez was a published author, revolutionary leader and a local legend. Unlike Cheno Cortina who was illiterate but directed the publication of broadsheets, Catarino Garza was educated at San Juan College, in Matamoros and wrote prolifically (Young, 2004). His first marriage to a prominent Anglo Brownsville woman ended in divorce, and later he married the daughter of wealthy Duval County rancher Concepción Alejandro González, one of the residents of Concepción south of San Diego. Garza lived in Brownsville, Laredo, México City and San Antonio. He was employed by the singer sewing Machine company, and like Basilio Ramos he traveled for work. Garza also held the positions of Mexican Consul and served as delegate to the National Convention of Wool Industries in 1886. On the side, he promoted socialist *Sociedades Mutualistas*, founding these IWW-type socialist political groups in the towns he lived in, including a prominent one in Corpus Christi in 1888 (Cuthbertson, 1975).

Several out of state newspaper articles were found concerning Catarino Garza's campaign in relation to San Diego and Duval County. One news story from Huntington, Kansas, attributed its wire source to San Antonio and mentions San Diego as the home of Garza's father in law. This story relates that "there are not half a dozen citizens but what positively know of every movement Garza has made and his location. They discuss the matter freely among themselves, but will not divulge their secret to Rangers or persons seeking the capture of the daring revolutionary leader" (Huntington News, January 8, 1892). The story reports Garza's headquarters to be in Nueces County which was the precursor to Duval. The Waterloo Iowa Courier and a newspaper from Huron South Dakota both carried a story in January of 1892 attributing the wire source to San Diego,

they did not elaborate as to which paper published in San Diego originated the story. These articles described the San Diego area as the hotbed of the Garza Revolutionists. On November 8, 1892 a one line wire story was picked up by the Cedar Rapids Iowa Gazette, attributing a San Diego wire source reporting that Gesigerio [sic] Nonato [sic] was given a live sentence for murder and mentioning that he was associated with Catarino Garza (Waterloo Iowa Courier January 1892, Huron South Dakota 1892). The same story was run in the November 8, 1892 LeMars Iowa Sentinel but it attributed the name of the sentenced man to have been Desiderio Molina. This shows that the nation was watching Catarino's campaign, and Duval County.

The Catarino Garza campaign received widespread interstate coverage in national American newspapers, and his connections and ties to San Diego Texas have been far more amply developed by his biographers. And while, the chapter in this paper is not intended to cover the entire relationship between Duval County and Catarino Garza, but only attempts focuses on links to Duval County, it is worthy to mention a very interesting biographical article published in January 1892 in the New York Times which notes that Garza's father in law Alejandro (Concepción) Gonzales was a prominent rancher in Nueces County, (now Duval) Texas and that Gonzales ranch just outside of San Diego was the site from which Garza published his last newspaper *El Libre Pensador*. This corroborates Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexican Border centered near San Diego by Elliott Young (Young, 2004). The New York Times article does not specifically mention San Diego, but relates that many cattlemen in the area were supportive of Garza.

Garza was a charismatic leader, skilled at public speaking in English and Spanish. Garza promoted learning and literacy, and he published *El Bien Público* in Corpus Christi and *El Comercio Mexicano* in Eagle Pass. In 1887 he started publishing *El Libre Pensador* in Eagle Pass, Texas about abuses perpetrated by the Díaz Regime (Garza C.). Garza also

briefly published *El Palito Blanco* and *El Libre Pensador* in San Diego, Texas (Elliot, pg. 205). It was the Free Thinker or *El Libre Pensador* that invoked the wrath of Mexican officials who threatened readers of the paper. Eventually Mexican law enforcement crossed into United States territory and confiscated newspaper equipment in Eagle Pass and arrested and tried Garza for libel. He served 30 days, and when released, he continued publishing and political organizing. Texas Ranger captain John R. Hughes arrested Catarino Garza in 1887 in Corpus Christi because Catarino had criticized Texas Ranger Victor Sebree for killing Abraham Reséndez. Ranger Sebree then shot Catarino in Río Grande City, Garza lived, but his companion standing next to him was killed. This murder went unpunished and was followed by the Río Grande City Riot of 1888 against the violence of the Rangers.

"MEXICANS VERY AGGRESSIVE: RÍO GRANDE CITY ASKING FOR TROOPS TO PROTECT IT!" was the September 25, 1888 headline in The New York Times. The residents of Río Grande had demanded Sebree be turned over for prosecution, but the commander of the Army fort in Laredo where Sebree was hiding refused to turn him over to local officials. The people demanding Sebree be delivered for a trial cut the telegraph wires to the fort. Sebree was not prosecuted despite shooting Garza and killing one of his companions in front of a large crowd. Nearby Brownsville newspaper coverage was less than favorable to the residents of the valley after the shooting:

> In this row the American hating revolutionist is shot and wounded. The guard flees for his life, hotly pursued and takes refuge in the garrison. And what ensues. A howling mob of Mexican canille [sic] of the lowest type came up, armed, to the fort demanding that the guard shall be given up to be murdered by them, and insult the American flag and the troops that protect it. This same mob returned to town, afraid to proceed to actual violence against the troops, and captured the place, defying the sheriff and the few deputies that he could control. They patrol the place and it needed but a few words of evil advice, instead of the good council

> which they did received to set off to burn, and rob and murder the peaceful inhabitants of the place (Brownsville Times, May 4, 1888).

This shooting, the media coverage and other depredations played an important part in Mexican American rancher's decisions to take up arms in support of Garza. Garza's autobiography, "*La logica de los hechos*" (The Logic of the Facts), shows some of the complex relationship between race, nationality and class identity on the border that shaped this interaction (Garza C. , 1890). This primary account of Texas Mexican Americans is unfinished, but chronicles his travels in Texas, Missouri, and México in 1877 through 1888 illustrates the prejudice and ill-treatment suffered by him and other Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the United States that newspaper coverage of the rebellion only hint at. *La logica de los hechos* organizes Catarino's newspaper articles, speeches and letters to and from Mexican officials and paints a picture of a violent anti-Mexican Texas.

The "Garza War" is the label given to the reaction of the Texas Rangers to Garza's political organizing. To understand the Garza War, his rebellion and life have to be contextualized both with the racial antagonism in Texas and the internal political conflict in México.[3] English language Texas newspapers portray the Río Grande event as a "race war," and Catarino Garza was accused of being part of an anti-American political party, when his organizing was for equal United States rights for United States citizens. The San Antonio Express called the people protesting Sebree's escape with no trial "Rioters" as the "lowest class of Mexicans among whom are many noted smugglers and bandits, their party being adherents of the revolutionary Mexicans." The English language newspaper further fanned the flames of racial fear with its assertion that the "safety of American and foreign residents in that section" (San Antonio Express, Sept 24, 1888). "Anarchy on the Border"

[3] There are numerous recorded instances of Texas citizens harassed, arrested, goods taken or murdered due to them being alleged Garza supporters or Garcistas, prior to his organizing similar treatment was given to Cheno Cortina followers and alleged conspirators.

proclaimed the New York Herald on September 26 1888. Mexican papers ran less hysterical articles attempting to understand the situation La Colonia noted that the shooting:

> aroused grave feelings, to such an extent that the enduring and tolerant Mexican people decided to take up arms to punish with their hands the criminal who in the short period of two or three months had treacherously assassinated two Mexicans, and a constant threat to the Mexican community in Starr County (*La Colonia Mexicana* Sept 26 1888)

The same newspaper showed the hegemony of Anglo power and lawlessness of the Rangers and Calvary on the border:

> Mexicans living on the Texas border [knew] perfectly well the lack of guarantees that they suffer, the cynicism and exasperating audacity with which the authorities of Starr County tolerate the violations committed against Mexicans, and even indirectly help them, giving criminals the means by which to escape the punishment of justice, and to continue planting terror in the honorable people of these communities (*La Colonia Mexicana* Sept 26 1888)

Ranger Sebree got away with state sanctioned murder, and that was normal in south Texas. Garza was been attacked by Mexican officials on United States soil, and attacked by United States officials, neither attack was legal, and neither was punished. In this violent climate of anti-Mexican and anti-Garcista actions, Catarino eventually left Texas. The violent suppression of Garza's revolt was part of the on-going war against Indians and exclusion of non-whites in the United States in an era of United States expansion. After leaving Texas, Catarino visited Cuba and Jamaica, he died in Columbia, expecting a popular revolution to take place there. Garza's life struggles are part of a pan-Latin American anti-imperialist tradition which has included figures like Simón Bolívar, José Martí and Che Guevara (Loboguerrero, 2009). The *Garcistas* continued to fight for rights

and recognition writing impassioned arguments for rights and access in editorials and papers across Texas.

Repercussions

While the actual Plan de San Diego was not carried out, the reaction to it, coupled with the ant-Garza sentiment at the time was fatal:

> 1848 and 1879 Mexicans were lynched at a rate of 473 per 100,000 of population. This statistic is astounding even when compared with African American victims during the period scholars claim was most rife with mob violence 1880 to 1930 and in the most lynch-prone states in the South. During these years, the highest lynching rate for African Americans was in Mississippi, with 52.8 victims per 100,000 of population. On the basis of such comparison, the Mexican population of the United States between 1848 and 1879 faced unparalleled danger from mob violence. (Carrigan, The lynching of persons of Mexican origin or descent in the United States, 1848 to 1928, 2003)

A New York Times editorial published on November 18, 1922 stated that in Texas, "the killing of Mexicans without provocation is so common as to pass almost unnoticed." Close to San Diego, if Mexican Americans got lost on the newly taken King Ranch, they were murdered and buried there in unmarked graves, or simply tied up and buried alive according to Ismael Montalvo interviews at the time (Brownsville Herald, May, September, October 1902 and May, November, 1910; El Porvenir, October, 1912). After the Plan de San Diego, in January 1918, a group of Texas Rangers, local Anglo vigilantes and U.S. Cavalry officers rounded up the community of Porvenir, Texas and killed all the men and boys (Webb, 1965). In Duval County there is a saying that every Texas Ranger has a little Mexican Blood, when you ask how that is possible, they respond that the rangers all have a little Mexican blood on the tips of their boots.

Border disturbances increased as tension rose in México, so did the murders of Mexican Americans who were reacting to the genocidal violence carried out by the Rangers. The Mexican revolution, in all its phases and Plans was a national movement by the majority of citizens seeking equal rights and recognition under the constitution of México, in Texas, persons of Mexican descent had been granted citizenship and rights under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo but were targets of prejudice and contempt by Anglo Americans and were not allowed to assert their constitutional rights or redress these racially motivated murders (Menchaca, 1993; Montejano, A Journey through Mexican Texas, 1900-1930: the making of a segregated society, 1982; Young, 2004). Mexican Americans were being rounded up based on race and summarily shot for "resisting". This situation was ripe for revolutionary promises and ideas.

Mexican Americans in Texas along with the social revolutionaries in México were asserting their rights and demanding respect. In the Río Grande Valley, the Mexican Americans, long overpowered by the Anglo minority were encouraged by the promises and ideas of the Mexican revolutions, and began following the Mexican revolutionaries in written protest, organizations and revolts (Cumberland, Border Raids in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1954).

The explosive sociopolitical landscape was compounded by the advent of World War 1 in August of 1914. American citizens of Mexican descent faced being drafted and forced to fight for the United States, the nation where they were second-class citizens oppressed under Jim Crow laws and unequal representation in United States government (Orozco, 2009). This nurtured a strong anti-American sentiment in the residents of South

Texas who had lost lands and rights since the United States civil war. The draft, coupled with the nationalistic solidarity of Mexican people espoused in the Mexican revolution and the Anti-Mexican sentiments in Texas added to the discontent of Texas Mexican Americans. The Plan de San Diego followed a number of similar liberal revolutionary proclamations: Francisco Ruiz Sandoval (1890), Catarino Garza (1891), Francisco Benavides (1892), and even of Francisco Madero's speech of 1910. The emphasis on autonomy, and racial equality along with the absence of communal land-holding is what marks this as a plan specifically suited San Diego and Texas Mexicans Americans, not just the repetition of Mexican revolutionary plans. San Diego residents were caught up in a global struggle, and on the local front there were battles being waged for political power in Duval County.

CHAPTER 5: SAN DIEGO THROUGH THE ARCHIVES

San Diego at the eve of the 20th century was a boom town, and was mentioned in Jovita González's much-cited Master's thesis as a place of wealth and prosperity for Mexican Americans (Mireles, 1930). But, as Martha Menchaca shows in her book on Texas, there was not an Anglo majority in Duval, or its County seat San Diego during this time. There had never been a majority Anglo population in Duval, unlike many other counties in Texas that had seen large Euro-American immigrations after the United States Civil War. San Diego was prosperous and reaping money from the new railroad, money from the confederate shipping of cotton and local ranching as well as the new oil discoveries. The real boom crop at the turn of the century was wool, which spawned the stilled used vernacular "*Tienes Lana?*" (Do you have wool?) which is still synonymous with "do you have money" in Duval to this day. The establishment of a railroad and more fences had changed the *vaquero* way of life, and switched primary ranching activities from cattle to sheep. The wool clip income flooded the town with new settlers, money and set the stage for the beginnings of the oil boom. The substance discovered in Piedras Pintas, used for treating mange and burnt in lanterns by early settlers, that had been skimmed off so animals could drink the water from the wells, proved to be invaluable. Prosperous merchants and ranchers lived in this small town built on the site of early cattle ranch vaquero housing, by the turn of the century this outpost on the Camino Real had basements in the Levy building and other cavernous storehouses full of goods and products for sale. As the wealth of the town grew, more Euro-Americans moved to San Diego and some married into existing families, while others tried to assume control of the town politics as was the norm in Jim Crow Texas (Montejano, 1982).

During late 1800's and early 1900's two political parties, the *Botas* and *Huaraches* named after iconic Texas and Mexican footwear: boots and sandals, occurred. The parties had registered voters of multiple ethnicities, but the new Anglo elite actually joined with the *huaraches*, and the Mexican American populations centered on the *Botas*, the parties were not clearly Republican or democrat, no one knows where Huaraches party name originated, but one can construe if the *Botas* were named for the boot wearing Mexicans, the *huarache* party was a play on that by the Anglo newcomers (Sáenz, 1999). During a special election to incorporate schools and move the County seat to Benavides, the *Botas* and *huaraches* squared off against each other.

Sáenz noted that the election was heated, and the "gentleman's agreement" that while Mexicans could hold local offices, they would demure from County wide elected positions was being challenged. Despite poll taxes, the Mexican Americans were going to take the polls and back the former *vaquero* Archie Parr and the *Botas*. One of the key items on the ballot that divided the residents along economic lines was the incorporation of public schools for all local children and a tax to support them. The affluent Anglo and land grant holding Mexican Americans sent their children to school in Corpus, and San Antonio, the *Huaraches* were against this proposition. The local farm workers and the Senator Archie Parr supported the local schools and moving the County seat, and this election may have marked the block voting or paying the poll taxes of poorer residents to get them to vote that was the signature of the Parr era (Sáenz, 1999).

On the morning of the election May 18, 1912, poll watchers were setting up the perimeter to keep the politicians form influencing voters on the way to the polls according to Texas law. There are several versions of what happened on the steps of the wooden courthouse that morning, but all agree that three prominent local Mexican American men were shot and killed in front of numerous witnesses. C.K. Gravis, local medical doctor

Sam Roberts, and the brothers Frank and Neil Robinson pulled up in a Buick touring car, pulled out high powered rifles, and killed the County clerk and the two deputies. The newly deputized Candelario Sáenz Sr. was walking up the steps of the wooden courthouse, with the County clerk Don Pedro Eznal, a local rancher and family man. Sáenz approached Gravis when the guns were pulled out, and he was the first one shot. Don Pedro Eznal was killed next, and the young Deputy Antonio Anguiano was shot in the gut as he went to help his elders lying on the courthouse steps (Sáenz, 1999).

Candelario Sáenz captured the heartbreak of the moment of his namesake and grandfather was killed in moving detail. He recounts that upon hearing of the murder, his grandmother ran to the courthouse, wet hair streaming, as she had been washing her hair when her aunt pulled up in a wagon and told her she was a now widow. The elder Sáenz had been accused of an earlier politically motivated murder, but acquitted when the key witness against him died. Sáenz had also been intimidated and threatened by Rangers and the recent Anglo settlers in San Diego, he had even been framed for a political murder, but escaped those charges and had continued to be politically and economically active in Duval County despite these troubles (Sáenz, 1999). Sáenz left a widow and two children.

Graciela Trevino Gonzales has written a book about her grandfather Pedro Eznal, when he dies he left a wife and three daughters. *The Three Opals* is titled after the family lore that he had brought three opals from México for her grandmother and buried them in the yard, but Don Pedro died without telling anyone where they were. Doing archival research in the new Duval County Court House, County Clerk Don Pedro Eznal has the strongest voice, as he recorded all the bills of sale, leases, bar applications and promises to marry in the County in a neat cursive flourish, possibly learned at the schoolhouse in San Diego where Agustin Garza and Fane Carrillo had taught. On some documents, both Eznal and Gravis signed, and Eznal's last entry was days before his untimely death. The next

clerk's handwriting is not as legible as Eznal's and he does not go into as much detail about the lives of the people whose records are being recorded for posterity. Deputy Anguiano as the youngest has the least information about his life, while he left no heirs, his family had been in San Diego since the early 1800's and is still a vital part of the community.

Despite dozens of witnesses, the accused murderers were moved from the Duval County Jail to Corpus Christi by Texas Rangers, fearing angry mobs of Mexican Americans would harm them. Then the trial was moved to east Richmond Texas, where local resident Luis García Rogers traveled by horseback to testify against them. Frank Rogers, who had sworn a Hippocratic Oath and was running for office during this election, was one of the triggermen. C.K Gravis had previously been Sheriff in Duval, but lost the last election. The brothers Frank and Neil Robinson were probably local cowboys, Neil had crowned the San Diego fiesta queen in 1890 (The Galveston Daily News, Wednesday, April 30, 1890)

Ultimately the murderers were acquitted despite witnesses' testimony. The date of the news of the acquittal reaching San Diego matches the authorship date of the Plan de San Diego almost perfectly. Pedro Eznal, Candelario Sáenz, and Antonio Anguiano were killed by gunfire and their deaths marked the end of political dominance by the predominantly Anglo *Huarache* party and the rise of the Parr family dynasty. Pérez notes: "The essence of the Parr's success and of the persistence of their political machine was the "Mexicanization" of themselves and their blend of *patronismo* and machine politics" (Perez, 2003). Senator Archie Parr, who spoke Spanish, kept the Texas Rangers out of Duval protected the local Mexican Americans from outright violence and murder following the discovery of the Plan. These murders are key to understanding the anger behind the Plan, and seeing the document as an anguished cry for rights and autonomy in the face of a culture of injustice and Anglos getting away with murder at the hands of Texas officials.

Archival research

Growing up in San Diego, there was a small meat market, two *panederias*, a *lavanderia* and ice factory, and a milk man. There was not a big grocery store, but there was a feed store and small hardware store as well as two gas stations. Less than a hundred years earlier, there had been a bustling train station, at least four general stores and mercantiles, two busy plazas with boarding houses, hotels and numerous bars and clubs. At the turn of the last century there was a two story bar on Victoria Street run by the local PLM, or anarchist *Partido Liberal Mexicano* where Luis de la Rosa, Luis García Rogers, Agustin Garza and Aniceto Pizaña had attended meetings with speakers such as Ricardo Flores Magón, M. Kaplan Russo and IWW organizers spoke. While the large two story buildings, including the one that housed this bar, remained as testaments to the once boom town there was little other evidence that the town had ever been a commercial center. Looking at the past in San Diego in terms of economic history, I have to include my own experiences of San Diego, and the aftermath of the failed rebellion.

It is hard to divide my experiences from my research, as Jeff Ludwig noted the difficulty of separating the historian from the history they write: (Ludwig, 2005)

> Placed precariously in a university setting where he or she is asked to tread a fine line between the arts and sciences, objectivity becomes an ambivalent mooring post. With the historian struggling to find a balance between detached neutrality, an even-handed study of facts, and active engagement with a past that might accomplish good in the present, the slightest bias, which might tip the scales, carries magnified significance. Political ideologies, geographical identification, and loyalties to class, race, gender or religion, combine, then, to form the basis of a worldview which inescapably seeks to present itself in historical thought (Ludwig, 2005).

John Higham called this a "perennial double life," and the Lila Abu-Lughod calls this positionality "halfie" drawing on Narayan's line of questioning how native the Native Anthropologist can be (Highman, 1970; Abu-Lughod, 1991; Narayan, 1993). As a Halfie,

the dilemma is I speak for my community to a group of Anthropologists about my home community, an “extreme dilemma” as Lila Abu-Lughod noted (Abu-Lughod, 1991, p. 142). All my information about San Diego is situational, my observations are situated knowledge filtered through my lenses of race class and gender, and I have tried to present a fair and balanced view of the past, and minimize omissions (Haraway, 1988).

Some historians see the past as a foreign country (Lowenthal, 1985), the archives I visited in the Duval County courthouse are not records of the same place I knew, though it is populated by the names of families I know. Almost all the records I examined were neatly written by the late Don Pedro Eznal, the man whose murder set off the sparks that lit the powder keg of Texas history. Some of the most telling and also most unique records I found included the inventory of an entire store levied against debts, the offer of marriage sealed not with a ring but promises of half of the man’s store inventory, and the bills of sale of houses, including a three story house that flies in the face of the past of San Diego that is presented as provincial or fringe or filled with stick huts. The Institute of Texas cultures, for instance, displays a genuine *jacal*, labeled as a normal Duval County residence in one of the preeminent museums in the state. The jacal is an authentic archaeological feature from a historic Duval County ranch, it was not the normal residence in San Diego. The archival records, recorded social practices and even housing types contest the accepted history, showing that Duval County is a place that does not fit the mold of the rest of Texas. In showing that San Diego was in fact a place capable of producing a sophisticated rebellion, I am writing against the normative history that calls the border troubles of the early 1900’s *bandit* wars, and does not show the past of the city of San Diego.

Archaeology interrogates historical documents, History and historiographies are important in cultural anthropology and archaeology because the present is intimately linked to the past. Brumfiel notes that there is a special link between archaeology and cultural

anthropology, as they share "concern with issues of history, and these issues require mutual cooperation" (Brumfiel, 2003). This work is intended to expand the collaboration of cultural anthropologists and archaeologists that Elizabeth Brumfiel called for in "It's a material world". Archaeology dictates what material remains of the past get studied and preserved. Material remains supplement or discredit the historical record, as Ann Stahl shows the ethnographic, oral historical, documentary and archaeological evidence do not always tell the same story (Stahl, 2001). History and Historic Archaeology rely heavily on historical documents, but, documents only supply only spotty coverage of indigenous cultures, women and daily lives. All archives have many silences, and the information recorded is filtered through the recorder, archive keepers and the people leaving written evidences. Stahl (2001) shows how traditionally historical anthropologists use information from various times and places to create baselines of culture at the time of contact, and the problems with this type of historic document matching to material records. There is no baseline for historic Mexican American household consumption, the archives have not been mined for daily minutia, and both investigations need to be done at multiple sites to build a repository of knowledge about early Mexican American households.

Archives are not complete, but rather selectively curated collections that often exclude people of color, women and children. Birth records were recorded after the fact during the 1800's and early 1900's when most people were born at home on ranches, and later the births were attested to by residents, or not recorded at all. This practice allowed for people who were born in the United States to not be officially counted in the census and also allowed immigrants to get affidavits after the fact that granted them citizenship by birth when they were actually naturalized. During the 1915 Plan de San Diego era, there were still many Duval residents who were born in Texas when it was México, so this did not apply as much.

Spanish law allowed for deed holders to attest ownership, so often deeds and trusts were attested to, not recorded on paper. So the archive is biased towards those who could afford to bribe officials in the Spanish government and get paper deeds. It is also limited by literacy, even though San Diego had multiple newspapers and a school, and a very literate population, not all residents could read, and many left their mark as an X in the archive. Spanish Archives are also gendered, while Spanish law also afforded property and custodial rights to women that the United States did not, at this time the elected and appointed County and City officials were all men.

Class also figures prominently in the archive, from the census occupation and wealth reports to the poll tax and local tax receipts, there was a wealth gap between wealthy Spanish landowners and Mexican Vaqueros and Campesinos. Poll tax receipts did not state who paid the poll, and Duval is later famous for "block voting" where political parties in charge paid the poll taxes of the poor Mexican and Anglo population in return for their votes. The early Duval County courthouse archives are both in Spanish and in English, with no translations, attesting to the formal use of both languages. Archives are notorious for excluding women, children and people of color while over representing land owners and the wealthy, so this archival research is meant to illuminate some aspects of life in early Duval County but is not presented as a complete history, the records are also limited by the mysterious fire in the original courthouse. Many original records, mostly the County expense records that were requested when Senator Archie Parr was under federal investigation were destroyed alongside early deeds and birth records in a scene so familiar to settling the American Southwest it has become a trope featured in Western and popular movies such as Lone Star and Joe Kidd.

LAND GRANTS

There are as many versions of the early settlement of San Diego as there are families whose Duval roots extend into the 1700's and 1800's in south Texas. Of the officially recognized versions, most agree that Jose Maria García Flores, a grandson of Julian Flores, the Land grant owner of San Diego to Arriba and Abajo grants settled the town in 1854. Later, in 1862, his granddaughter, Encaracion García, parceled out the San Diego de Ariba section of the Land grant into lots, and assigned places for a church and a plaza (Perez, 2003). Families continued to move into the area to live in San Diego and on ranches in the surrounding area, and the town became a thriving community, even before the residents petitioned for the railroad from Laredo to pass through San Diego, it was one of the larger towns in South Texas. Early historic photographs show dozens of houses in the late 1800's, three churches, and two schools a wooden courthouse as well as the large early sillar buildings. There are hitching posts outside all the buildings, horses, mules and wagons attesting to the trade going through the town on the historic Spanish road. The people wore white cotton Mexican clothes, and wide straw hats, alongside Victorian black suits and dresses, and they wore boots and high heeled buttoned shoes. There are no jacal houses in the historic pictures, but rather the photographs show an Old west town, with wide and smooth dirt roads, covered bridges and multiple stores (De Planque, de Planque, Louis, Photographs, 1870-1885). As the following list of historic ranches shows, Mexican and Spanish settlements of the area predate San Diego the city.

Ranch Name	Year founded	Location	Year recognized
Sepulveda Ranch	1808	Six miles west of San Diego on Highway 44	1986
Leo & Canay Ranch	1852	Ramirez	1986
Leónel Oliveira Ranch	1871	Ramirez	1986
San Pedro del Charco Redondo Ranch	1877	Ramirez	1986
Sáenz Ranch	1852	Eleven miles west of San Diego, one mile south off FM 3196	1991
El Toro Ranch	1799	Seven and one-half miles northwest of Highway 44	1993
Colombia Ranch	1876	Seven miles southeast of San Diego	1993
Teofilo García Yzaguirre Ranch	1879	One mile south of the intersection of FM 716 and FM 339 on County Road 268	2004
El Rancho Viejo	1904	Fifteen miles north of Hebbronville and five miles west off County Road 313	2004
Fermin Leal Ranch	1852	One mile north of Ramirez on Hwy. 339	2006
Cayetana Leal Palacios Ranch	1899	Three miles south of FM 716 on County Road 245	2006
Macario Garza Farm	1906	One half mile west of Benavides on FM 2295	2006
Rancho Dos Siglos	1811	One mile south of the intersection of FM 716 and FM 339 on County Road 268	2008
Charco Redondo Ranch	1811	Hebbronville	2011
Rancho De Oro	1808	Two miles north of Rios on SH 716	2012

Figure 8 - Duval historic properties recognized by the Texas House of Reps

We know according to the archives that in the early 1800's, San Diego de Arriba and San Diego de Abajo to Julián Flores and his son Ventura were given two Spanish land grants of about 14,000 hectares or 35,000 acres. José Faustino Contreras, the surveyor general of San Luis Potosí surveyed the lands in 1806 (Kohout, 2013). Spanish land grants were generally awarded to citizens who had first informally ranched in that area, so most likely Julián and Ventura Flores had arrived prior to 1809, they were given the grant in 1812. By the mid-1700s larger ranches were being worked by Vaqueros in informally held lands grants and homesteads.

The first settlers were probably Vaqueros following herds of cattle practicing a modified version of Spanish transhumance practices. Julian Flores had established a ranch settlement by 1815. During the 1800's, official titles were issued by the governor of the province, these titles were paid by fees to the governor, and officials like the surveyor, similar to the *mordida* or little bite, where corrupt officials take bribes today. As ranch lands in Texas were generally held informally or communally in the early years of Spanish colonization and during the Mexican colonial period, stating that colonization began at land grant is incorrect. The early ranches show many different families settled Duval County prior to Flores's land grant. Deeds were only formalized in later years, and only by those who could afford them. Existing settlements in the José de Escandón colonies had requested individual deeds starting in 1753, but it was after 1767 that the Spanish government actually started surveying and parceling land (Kohout, 2013). Towns like Laredo, Mier, Camargo, Guerrero and Reynosa received some of the earliest written grants. Ranches further from cities, and poor ranchers never received formal title but rather attested to ownership verbally, as was customary in Spanish Texas. Many ranchers were holding their homesteads according to Spanish and Mexican custom, but had no proof of ownership other than their ranch houses. These were the citizens who had the hardest time proving their land claims after Texas independence. Later foreign land speculators asked local Vaqueros to apply for Texas homestead, and charged exorbitant fees, then repossessed the land after the homesteads had been granted. It was these practices that had enraged Cheno Cortina and Catarino Garza, and had been witnessed by Candelario Sáenz the elder. This is the case in many towns in Texas and in the larger southwestern United States, and part of the reason for the establishments of the Texas Land Office to sort out the claims.

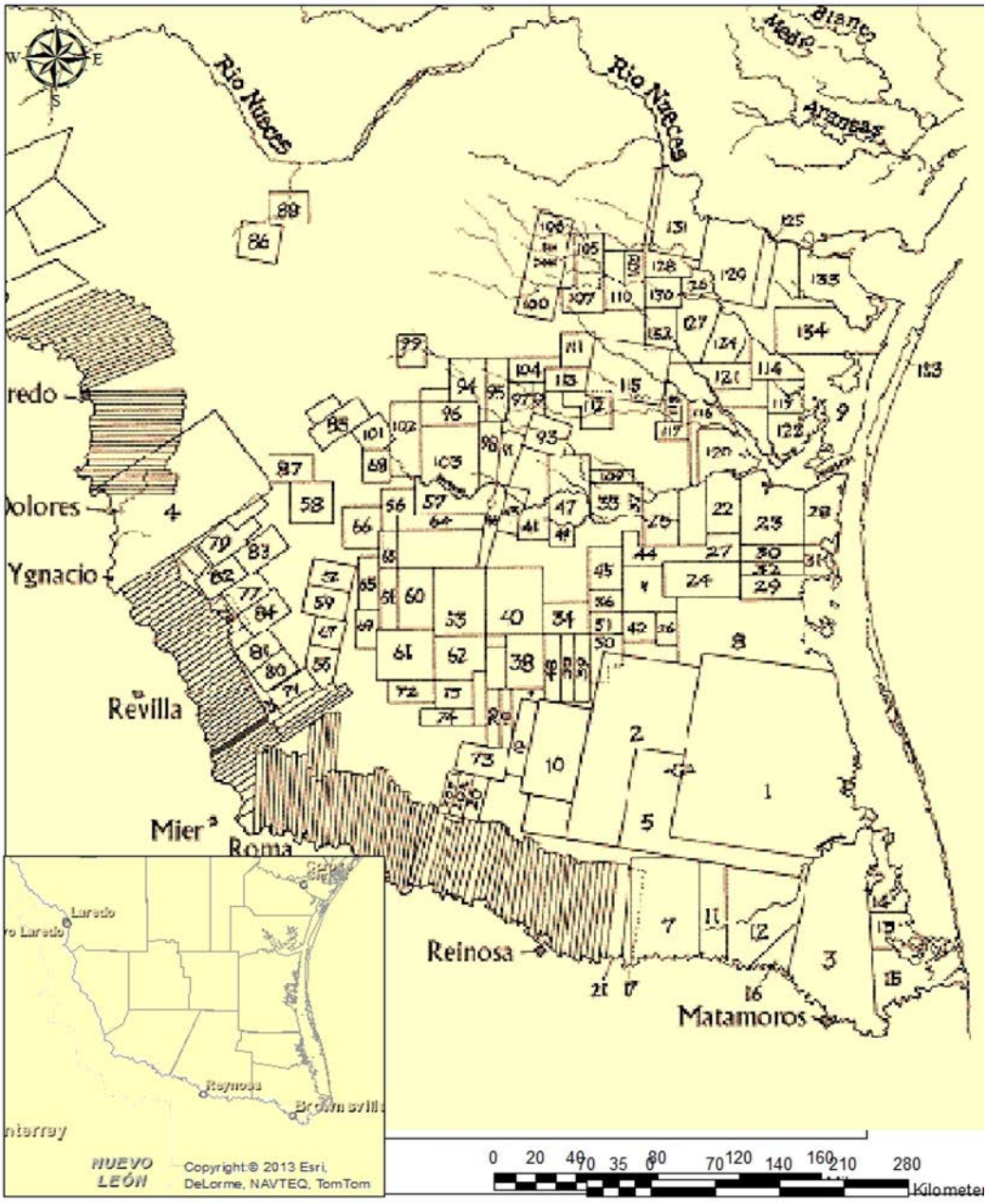


Figure 9 - Spanish Land Grants adapted from Chipman (Garza E. , 2013)

A slightly different version of the creation of the City of San Diego from the surrounding ranches follows Pablo Pérez buying property along the north bank of the San Diego Creek in 1848, from the Flores family and settling it with his *Vaqueros*. Some amateur Historians doubt the existence of the early town that is commonly known as Pérezville, but Pérez family records show that in 1852 the first post office was established, contradicting the accepted history. This primary source is preferred to secondhand historians take, or the official Texas records. It is known that Pérez built several *sillar* houses, probably the ruins on the south side of the San Diego Creek. A number of families from México joined the Pérez family, and that rancho was known as Pérezville for several years, according to Pérez family records, later the name was changed to San Diego. By 1876, when Louis De Planque visited, there were at least 49 structures at the site of San Diego. Pérez records dated the first a post office at 1852, however, records of the United States Post Office show the date of the first post office being established as July 8, 1867 (Perez, 2003). In this case the Pérez family records are primary sources and more historically valuable. Most historians accept the first version of the settlement of San Diego, without taking into account the monetarily selective nature of formal Spanish land grants and record keeping.

There are other family histories that need to be explored to write the story of San Diego. One early historic site was reported to the Texas Historic committee and the letter referring of the remains of a “stagecoach” stop with two stone wells in Duval County at the Dribelbis Ranch, which could have been pre-historic or historic, or both is held in that archive (Comittee, n.d.). Texas Historic Committee also had a Newspaper clipping about the Bazan and Escobar ranch dating to the late Historic period where descendants were looking to receive historic designation, but the ranch never received national or state

historic register recognition. Some ranches in Duval do have recognition from the Texas House of Representatives, but are not part of the state or national register of places. More recent CRM surveys have been included in a GIS rendering of survey area, but there are no historical markers in Duval according to the Texas Historical commission. Since these early settlements are not part of the accepted historical trajectory of Texas, it is imperative to gain recognition and add information about the early settlers of Texas and Duval County. Another way to look at these early settlements it through their remains as Mary Jo Galindo did in Mier (Galindo, 2003).

STORE INVENTORY

Material manifestations of culture are the subjects of archaeological inquiry alongside demographic and economic shifts, it's the features and material remains that define sites as unique. I have consciously avoided a statistically based analysis of capital accumulation in this chapter, as much work remains to be done on the economic history of San Diego. There is a large body of work that discusses politics and people and income in the border area, including David Montejano's and Jose Limon's and Neil Foley's close readings of the ebbs and flows of capital and people. Instead, I focused on the material goods that were available. What could be purchased in San Diego at the turn of the century? The products for sale, as well as what other material culture was in located the stores are recorded in bills of sales and deeds, and remain *in situ*. Paul Mullins and other archaeologists point out that consumption of mass produced material goods is not uniform households of different races, that needs to be further explored in Mexican American households. Archaeology often studies consumption over time and space, similar to the

topics explored by economic historians of consumption. Studies of the consumption and production of goods can produce a distinctive picture of life that remains largely unaddressed in most written histories. Mullins expands the definition of consumption beyond the flow of goods to the ideological processes behind getting the goods, such as marketing, dominant ideologies, and cultural and ethnic identities of the end consumers (Mullins, 1999). People can show conscious agency through buying and using things in opposition to dominant ideology, or even by purchasing or using goods in different ways. Households in San Diego had access to a surprising array of material goods available to purchase at the turn of the century.

The Galveston Daily News article titled "San Diego Siftings" shows that San Diego was prosperous before the railroad came to town. It lists 5 new saddle shops, details a local fiesta pageant, talks about local druggist Francisco Díaz's silkworm cultivation which is noted to be producing silk, sheep herds of over 400 for one rancher, cattle selling at $26 a head, and a gun club and a local tradition of beauty pageants and harvest fiestas. A foot long corn tassel and cotton were on display at the Gueydan Store, and death notices were included, one of snake bite, one of tetanus (The Galveston Daily News, Wednesday, April 30, 1890). Galveston was the largest City in Texas at this time, and for it to have dedicated news section to San Diego speaks of the economic and social clout of the town. While many archival records the businesses are lost, we can infer that there was at least one drug store, more than two stores, six or more saddle shops and social clubs at this time. One of the most compelling archival testaments to the boom in population and capital in San Diego was the inventory of a store owed by J.H. Halpern in San Diego that was indebted to W.D. Cleveland of Houston Texas for $527.98. To settle this debt, Mr. Halpern inventoried his store in San Diego and conveyed the merchandise and fixtures. This transaction was

notarized by former Texas Ranger James O. Luby, on October 31, A.D. 1891. The inventory is as follows:

Quantity	Inventory	individual price	total value	carried total
1	26ft show case		$24.00	
1	13ft		$8.00	
	Shelves and counters		$25.00	
1	ice chest		$8.00	
1	Desk		$2.00	
1	oil tank and measures		$6.00	
1	iron safe		$35.00	
1	pair counter scales		$9.00	
2	hanging lamps		$6.00	
4	toy wagons		$4.00	
1	Do		$0.75	
1	keg 10 gallons orange wine		$8.00	
20	bottles cider		$3.00	
1300	packages garden seed		$9.00	
4	reams wrapping paper 20 x 30		$2.00	
29	Pairs jeans pants	$0.90	$35.10	
31	white shirts	$0.90	$27.00	
36	Dn work shirts	$0.30	$10.80	
7	under shirts		$1.16	
18	Pairs drawers	$0.50	$9.00	
15	Undershirts	$0.50	$7.50	
5	Over skirts	$1.00	$5.00	
4	dozen pairs socks	$0.65	$2.60	
17	Pairs half hose	$0.70	$1.19	
4	dozen handkerchiefs	$0.75	$3.00	
18	Pairs hose		$1.50	
4	Pairs ladies hose		$0.50	
1.5	dozen neckties	$4.00	$6.00	
2	dozen carpenters pencils		$0.80	
3	dozen toilet soap		$1.20	
1	lot lamp wicks		$3.00	
	Sundry notions		$10.00	
18	Slates		$1.80	
22	Dolls		$4.40	
8	dozen lamp chimneys no’s 2 and 3		$4.80	
1	dozen electric Do Do		$2.00	
5	Note message books		$1.35	
1	lot writing paper		$1.50	
0.5	gross lamp chimneys		$2.75	
3	packs fire crackers common		$1.50	
17	dozen lead pencils		$1.00	
2	dozen knives and forks	$1.00	$2.00	
1	gross alligator matches		$0.95	
3.5	cases popcorn	$3.50	$13.75	
	carried total			$314.00
1	bundle "mat" cinnamon		$0.50	
1	box lamp burners		$1.00	
9	bottles castor oil		$0.75	
12	bottles mucilage		$0.75	
4	pen holders		$0.75	
3	lbs.’ soda		$0.18	
5	cakes sapollo		$0.18	
2	boxes cartridges		$1.50	

Figure 10 – Halpern Store inventory a

2	m assorted paper bags			$4.00	
1	dozen shoe brushes			$1.00	
8	reams wax paper			$1.60	
600	candy boxes			$6.00	
12	lbs.' candles			$1.23	
15	packages nickel starch			$0.52	
2	dozen cans salmon			$3.00	
10	Cans Cal. Fruit			$2.20	
15	Cans Apples			$1.27	
2	dozen pickles			$2.00	
1	dozen bottles mustard			$5.75	
1.5	dozen Allspice			$3.93	
1.5	dozen cans dried beef			$0.75	
1.5	dozen baking powder			$1.30	
4	Cans Royal baking powder			$1.64	
1.5	dozen cans milk			$2.16	
1	dozen cans oysters .25 lbs.			$2.50	
3	sacks flour			$2.75	
3	dozen Sardines AM			$1.62	
2	dozen 2 lb. tomatoes			$1.70	
0.5	dozen oz. preserves			$3.00	
1	dozen chow chow			$3.50	
1.5	dozen ring candy jars			$6.75	
1	dozen candy plates			$2.00	
75	lbs. candy			$15.00	
800	cheroots			$12.00	
230	Toluca cigars			$16.10	
50	cigars			$1.75	
9	lbs. 2oz Ps tobacco			$3.15	
0.5	dozen Worchestershire [sic] sauce			$1.87	
1	tobacco cutter			$1.50	
35	lbs. beans			$1.40	
3	Bushel covers			$0.75	
25	lbs. stick candy			$2.00	
3	lbs. gunpowder tea			$1.40	
1	job lot spices			$0.60	
7	lbs. imperial tea			$2.45	
29	Cans tomatoe [sic] sardines			$4.35	
1	dozen French sardines			$1.50	
	carried total				$439.60
1.5	dozen brooms			$0.75	
20	lbs. candles			$0.75	
15	gallons vinegar		0.25	$0.75	
	matches .50 .25 lbs. rice $1.5			$0.75	
25	lbs. cut 1 sugar			$0.75	
5	china cups and saucers			$0.75	
4	Pairs vases			$0.75	
	extracts lemon Vanilla etc. "job lots"			$0.75	
1	dozen inks			$0.75	
	spices "job lots'			$0.75	
0.5	bushel flour "seldom left" brand			$0.75	
		Stated total			$460.32
		Actual sum	$454.75		
		Corrected for amounts		$481.56	(records, 1891)

Figure 11 - Halpern Store inventory b

Accounting for inflation, the corrected value I calculated based on stated amounts is worth approximately $12,117.69 in today's United States dollars accounting for inflation

according to the *Historical Statistics of the United States* (USGPO, 1975). Inversely, goods that would cost $481.56 dollars today would be about $19.54 in 1891, this straight calculation just accounts for inflation, and does not account for the variations in price of luxury goods such as cigars, oysters and gunpowder tea. The variety of goods available at this small store is amazing for this time. While staples and luxury goods were available in many small town mercantiles, this was just one of many stores in San Diego. Both dry goods and clothing and household materials are present, showing residents did not have to travel to Laredo or Corpus Christi to obtain basic supplies and non-perishable food. The seeds and soap making supplies show that residents were growing their own food and making household products from food waste as demonstrated in oral histories. Residents were also raising food like chickens, most likely for both food and income. Flour and animal feed came in cloth sacks that were used to make clothing or underclothes even in wealthy household. The variety of clothing available shows agency in the choices we see in historic photographs. School supplies show that this was a literate town, with a demand for writing accessories. Gunpowder was used in fireworks, which were available and gunpowder was used in making bullets, showing the continuation of Native American food patterns in hunting of wild game, and self-defense.

San Diego at the turn of the century had a wide variety of imported goods, including recognizable brand name goods that are still available today. Goods like oysters, chow-chow and sardines, while not exotic, are not considered typical Duval fare and were available in quantities. Brands that still hold brand loyalty in Duval like Royal baking powder, the preferred baking powder for Pan de Campo, and canned milk show the long history of consumption of these shelf stable goods. While the population in Duval was mostly Mexican American, these goods are not all marked as typical Mexican foods or

choices in food preparation, but rather are global and cosmopolitan offerings for a small town at this time.

MARRIAGE PROPOSAL

Elizabeth Brumfield notes "Archaeology studies humans in the past, and cultural anthropology studies humans in the present. Archaeology's concern with long-term history complements cultural anthropology's interest in the intimate interactions of daily life. Archaeology's cross-cultural and comparative perspective balances cultural anthropology's recognition of each culture's individuality" (Brumfiel, 2003, p. 205). While the residents of San Diego were mostly Mexican American, they were not a monolithic group, and the city had unique customs that were place and time specific. Many of the documents I encountered in the archive are documents that have analogous records today such as marriage and birth records and the deeds and sales for the sum of one dollar, to get ownership recognized. The actions of daily life leave bureaucratic records, and some of these seemingly mundane records are unique to San Diego and the turn of the century and show this place's historical trajectory.

In doing historic archaeology, the archival record sometimes shows glimpses of daily lives that have not been noted in other studies. One of these ethnographic moments in the archive showed a marriage practice that I have not seen documented in historic studies of Mexican American or Euro-American marriage practices: the payment of wealth directly to a prospective wife. This is similar to what Leach noted in bride wealth, but a singular example that was followed by similar pledges of wealth, noted not in the record of betrothals and marriages, but in the Bill of Sale book. The following passage can be

read as a primary source about marriage in San Diego at the turn of the century as well as a record of the participants' class, occupation and part of a cultural practice of marriage in Duval:

> The Marriage Settlement of Trinidad Salazar on his Future wife Guadalupe Garza: I Trinidad Salazar, a resident of the above mentioned State and County, in consideration of a marriage to be had and solemnized, on the 2oth day of June in 1894 between me and Guadalupe Garza, also a resident of said state and County, I have this day paid to her the said Wife Guadalupe Garza, five hundred dollars, said being a marriage tittlement [sic] made by me on my future wife Guadalupe Garza, and the same shall be and is her separate property owned by her, in her own separate right before her marriage, and whereas said wife Guadalupe Garza has agreed to allow me to use said five hundred dollars and invest in dry goods and wares, to be placed in my store at Santa Cruz in Duval County, State of Texas. I do hereby agree that at any time after this date hereof, said wife Guadalupe Garza, when it may seem fit to her shall have and has the right to withdraw said five hundred dollars from my possession and from my Business. And I further agree and bind myself to have at all times, said money or goods and wares in my store sufficient to raise said five hundred dollars to be paid said Guadalupe Garza when demanded by her, at any time after. The state hereof witness my hand this 21st day of May 1892 Trinidad Salazar Witnessed by William A. Tinney Clerk of Duval County (records, 1891)

While this record stands alone, and has no context as to why Trinidad pledged money to his wife, where he got the money, or if this was customary practice it is important to note that the borderlands not only blended cultures but laws. Spanish property and child law influence Texas laws to this day, Spanish law allowed women to own property, and retain rights to children even after divorce at this time when United States law did not. After this recorded marriage agreement, there were other property divisions pledged in cases of impending nuptials, so it was not an isolated incident.

When looking at San Diego, it is important to note that there were unique regional practices such as this first record of bride receiving money from her betrothed, but it was not the only or last. There are later notes by Pedro Eznal explaining that when a wife or

widow was transferring property he asked them alone if that was truly their decision. This evidence of unusual rights and property of women is important framework for the later Plan de San Diego and the experiences of its residents. This record is also important because it shows a Mexican Americans owned mercantile and dry goods business, adding to the other known businesses. This proposal plus goods can been seen as showing the formalization of the property that was going to be owned by his future wife in lieu of other binding legal documents. There is a ledger book of yet another dry goods store that shows that many Mexican American families had credit lines that exceeded the amounts of their Anglo counterparts, while it does not show what goods they bought, it underlines the affluent Mexican Americans noted by Montejano and Sáenz as well as the lives of the signers of the Plan de San Diego and the owners of the García house.

Not all Mexican Americans were *vaqueros* / cowboys or *campesinos* / rural agrarian laborers; there were land grant holders, affluent Spanish families, and a thriving middle class of merchants, craftspeople and educated professionals. This marriage proposal may have served in lieu of a will, promising goods to his intended wife, but it does not reveal the economic circumstances or class standing of either Trinidad or Guadalupe Garza, just that Trinidad wanted Guadalupe to have legal rights to the goods in his store. However, this marriage promise and money do not mean that the marriage was egalitarian, or that San Diego was a utopia, but rather point to the individual aspects of the participants in this contract and the cultural behaviors of San Diego.

We know from news reports that divorce was legal and practiced in San Diego. Divorce is not recognized by the Catholic Church, the largest diocese in San Diego, but at the turn of the century there were other churches including Jehovah's witnesses, and Protestants, there was a large Jewish population but the closest Temple was in Robstown. Divorce was legal under Spanish law, and common, which is supported through oral

history. Archival evidence of cultural practices like this one allow us to see how people were participating in marriage, and how that was similar to other Mexican American places as well as how the customs in San Diego were unique.

HOUSE SALES

The Institute of Texas Cultures is a museum and archive that is dedicated to preserving the multiple cultures of Texas in its round edifice located in San Antonio. The Institute is part of Hemisphere Park, which was created for the World's fair in 1968 and coincidentally displaced hundreds of Mexican American Families when it was built. At the same time the ITC created museums of some of the early Spanish houses located there. While the current institute aims at representing the many ethnicities that settled in Texas, and houses an unprecedented array of material culture and inclusive displays, Enrique Gilbert-Michael Maestas notes in his dissertation that as late as 2003 the ITC was:

> [E]xtraordinary for its exclusion of México and Mexican people as a part of the immigrant history of Texas culture. Poignantly, while Japanese immigrants representing less than ten people and a tea garden in the immigrant history at the ITC merit a display, millions of Mexican immigrants who have been making San Antonio their home since at least 1716 remain unseen. In all, the ITC, official arbiter of Texan Cultures, produced a social history masking the invasion and disenfranchisement of Native peoples by isolating the display of Native American cultures, and by the omission of a Mexican cultural display (Maestas E. G., 2003)

To remedy this longstanding omission the ITC placed a stick and mud hut, a *jacal*, that is labeled a representative Mexican American house from San Diego Texas.

The authenticity of the *jacal* is not in question. It is an actual jacal taken from the Canelo ranch, but its display raises sticky questions about representing culture. Showing an authentic structure from the time period, but without the city's context by no means

encompasses the range of housing available in early Duval County that Mexican Americans built or lived in. When cultural symbols are divorced from their context, broad generalizations about housing get placed in the collective unconscious about a people's practices, like teepee, the *jacal* is just one type of structure Native Americans built in Texas. The Institute also published the book of historic photos from San Diego, but during the research they did not exhaustively contact the residents of San Diego to see if the pictures were of people's known relatives. One of the directors of the institute has ties to San Diego, and that complicates the representation even further the presentation of San Diego culture to the people who visit the Institute.

San Diego has a large archival presence, and to show the variety of housing available in early San Diego and at the turn of the century, I studied the bills of sale in the archive records, and looked at the architecture itself, as many buildings had the year of their construction etched onto their exteriors. In "Ruins of Brick Culture Strewn along the Lower Río Grande" Stephen Fox notes that as brick became manufactured in South Texas, the brick buildings began to spring up overnight despite the economic slump during the civil war (Fox S. , 2006). It is impossible to show exactly what San Diego looked like in 1912, as many houses have evolved or been destroyed over the years. But it is possible to show the variety and cost of a number of the houses to show a representative sample instead of reductionary types of housing or calling anything a typical Duval house.

Jacals were ubiquitous, but they were not permanent houses that people lived in year round, but were rather temporary shade and ranch structures that hearken back to Native American shelters noted by Cabeza de Vaca that were made with materials at hand to hide from the sweltering heat and elements. The oldest building in San Diego is arguably the Casa Blanca Bar, a *sillar* square building probably built around 1848 (Perez, 2003). The Casa Blanca has served as the post office, a fort to defend against Indian raids, and a

continuous operated building that is one of the oldest in Texas. There are still bullets and arrowheads embedded in the walls, and the bottle caps outside document almost two centuries of beer and soda consumptions. The now dismantled City Hall on the Plaza Alcala was also made of *sillar*, but was dismantled in 2004 to make way for a modern, ADA compliant building. Some of the other buildings around that plaza date from this period of early 1800's late 1700's, including the Lopez and Smithwick houses and some former stores. The García house on St. Peters is also an early *sillar* building. Later in the 1800's wooden houses and Victorian architecture were common.

The archive on house sales often has unexplainable Bills of Sale, one example is the sale of the San Diego Drug company for one dollar to Mary C Shoemaker from W H Shoemaker. This could just be recorded for the record, or could have other meanings including giving Ms. Shoemaker the rights to property ownership that were not enjoyed in the United States but were customary in Spanish and Mexican property law. In 1911 Pedro Eznal recorded the sale by H.A. Ball Jr. to Jacob Long, for the sum of 700, which conveyed one half ownership of the Movie Theater and equipment. This recorded on September 9th 1911 was one of the last records done by Eznal.

Isabela Longoria sold a house to Victoriano Rodriguez for $100 in 1915. It is described as a box house, 14 X 18 feet, with a side room 8X18 feet and a six foot porch. Also conveyed for this price were 7 chairs, 1 iron bed 1 dining table, 1 dresser and 1 wash stand. This house and property was located near *Las Animas* Ranch in Duval, but Ms. Longoria resided in neighboring Jim wells. In town in 1915, A.B. Cuellar bought a three story house from Mr. and Mrs. Serna located on block 70 lot 8 for $225. This house was a three story shingle roof frame building.

These sales show that there was no typical dwelling, or typical ownership arrangement some properties were owned by women, some by men. San Diego has unique

architectural signatures, and a unique layout. Not all the Mexican American residents lived in *jacals*, and some Anglos even took the Mexican customs of property ownership by giving property to their wives. There was a movie theater along with the many stores and other buildings. San Diego was a booming frontier town on multiple frontiers built on an established Mexican community with roots in the early 1800's, its architecture and population was diverse, but based on the Spanish colonial layout.

CENSUS

Most historical studies approach the communities they research through the census. The problem with this approach is that not all Mexican Americans were raced in the same way, and many were not enumerated in rural places like Duval County where ranches and settlements were far apart. Researching the formation of a pan-Mexican American Identity in San Diego is also compounded by the unequal historical trajectory of different classes of Mexicans in San Diego. While many Mexican Americans experienced racialized violence, some were married into Anglo families and were raced as Anglo in the early years of Duval. Omi and Winant see racial formation as:

> A sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed. Our attempt to elaborate a theory of racial formation will proceed in two steps. First, we argue that racial formation is a process of historically situated projects in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized. Next we link racial formation to the evolution of hegemony, the way in which society is organized and ruled. Such an approach, we believe, can facilitate understanding of a whole range of contemporary controversies and dilemmas involving race, including the nature of racism, the relationship of race to other forms of differences, inequalities, and oppression such as sexism and nationalism, and the dilemmas of racial identity today. (Omi, 1994, p. 55)

The history that surrounds the formation of the Mexican American identity, is not in a "vacuum" but rather a combination of social forces like ideology, economics and human psychology forced the ethnogenesis both from within the group how outsiders raced them as Mexican Americans (Haney-López, 2000, p. 169). In the case of the Texas, Mexicans did not initially become a separate race right after annexation, Mexicans were all racialized differently and had different class and social capital, and eventually all these etic and emic groups were classified together as one 'race' as a result of the dominant society's negative perceptions of Mexicans living in the recently acquired territories.

The original Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo granting all Mexican Citizen's United States citizenship was interpreted by the courts and changed over time (Griswold del Castillo, 1993). The color lines drawn by the colonial Spanish centuries earlier that México tried to eradicate along with slavery were redrawn when the United States took over. Haney-López sees race as a purely social construction, driven by human interaction rather than biological differences (Haney-López, 2000, p. 165). Omi and Winant caution:

> Too often, the attempt is made to understand race simply or primarily in terms of only one of these two analytic dimensions. For example, efforts to explain racial inequality as a purely social phenomenon are unable to account for the origins, patterning, and transformation of racial difference. Conversely, many examinations of racial difference – understood as a matter of cultural attributes, a la ethnicity theory, or a society-wide signification system, a la some post structuralist accounts – cannot comprehend such structural phenomenon as racial stratification in the labor market or patterns of racial segregation." (Omi, 1994)

Obviously different bodies have different racialized experiences, as the residents of San Diego attested in accounts of no prejudice alongside accounts of racial segregation and accounts racialized exclusion from public spaces like the ones alluded to in the Plan de San Diego. While Mexican American is a legal term, the performance of race and class was a

personal choice that was fluid. Omi and Winant synthesize the social and biological constructs of race that is seen in the census data from San Diego.

In the ancient Nueces County Census of 1860, San Diego is listed as a town. It is actually, already a large settlement for the area. 225 residents were counted as living in San Diego. 64 people were listed as Mexican Americans born in Texas, many of them were children. 150 people were counted as having emigrated from México, many of these immigrants were also babies according to the census. One immigrant was from New York, he was named Edward Gray, and he was married to Rosita Gray and had had five children. This is a clear example of the "structure of peace' by marriage that David Montejano talks about (Montejano, 1982). Duval County was separate from Nueces since 1858 according to the State of Texas, but it was not formally organized until 1876. A group of San Diego residents, both Anglo and Mexican American, petitioned to be removed from the supervision of Nueces County (Cardenas A. E., 2008, p. 9) . Avocational historian Alfredo Cardenas notes on his blog that the early census details economic status of residents:

> The wealthiest man in town was man named Pérez, his first name is not discernible but looks like "Lopez." Pérez was worth $10,828, including $6,928 in land and $3,900 in personal property, most likely livestock. Trinidad Flores was worth $7,828, divided almost equally between land and livestock. Gray, Antonio García, Juan Sáenz, a man name Pena, and Benito Ramirez were among the other stock raisers in San Diego. There were also 14 herdsman, 18 laborers, three shoemakers, a fiddler (Ignacio Baldera), a tailor (Desidorio Sanchez), a carpenter (Francisco Bazan?), 12 servants, and nine shepherds. San Diego attracted John Levy to open a store in what was called the "Rancho San Diego" and carried "all articles usually found in a Texas store." In August, Gray was elected Justice of the Peace for Precinct 9 in Nueces County. The Nueces County Commissioners Court also established voting precincts in San Diego, Rancho de Los Angeles in Encinal County, and at Fort Ewell. "Within this area were some of the largest ranchos and compact settlements of our fellow Mexican citizens," The Ranchero reported. The new precincts doubled the eligible voters in Nueces County. This act of the Nueces County Commissioners Court led to the first election ever held in Duval County, and it clearly foretold things to come (Cardenas A. , 2013).

Luis Muñiz was the first birth in Duval County that was attested to by residents, he lived until the mid-1840s (Cardenas A. , 2013). Mainstream Texas History does not count the ranchos as settlements, but rather starts San Diego history when it was surveyed despite "some twenty-five families" there, the handbook of Texas notes that not until 1848, when Henry L. Kinney and William L. Cazneau made a road from Corpus Christi to Laredo that passed through the area, was the settlement named San Diego (Kohout, 2013). In that same year Ventura Flores sold some land along the north bank of San Diego Creek to Pablo Pérez, who built some stone houses and brought some families to live there. The resulting community was known as Pérezville, as the population rose, different groups migrated to Duval County:

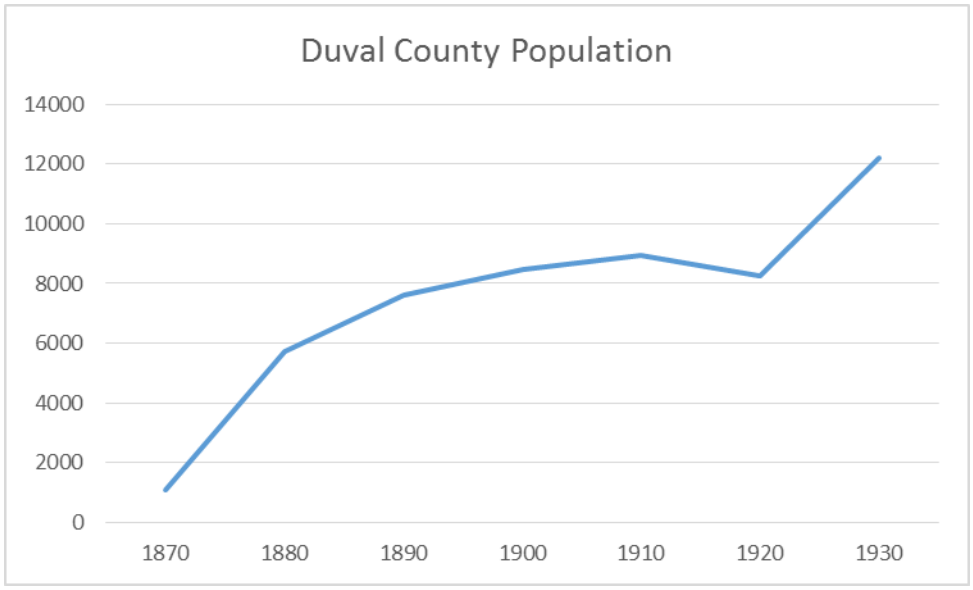


Figure 12 - Duval population 1870-1930

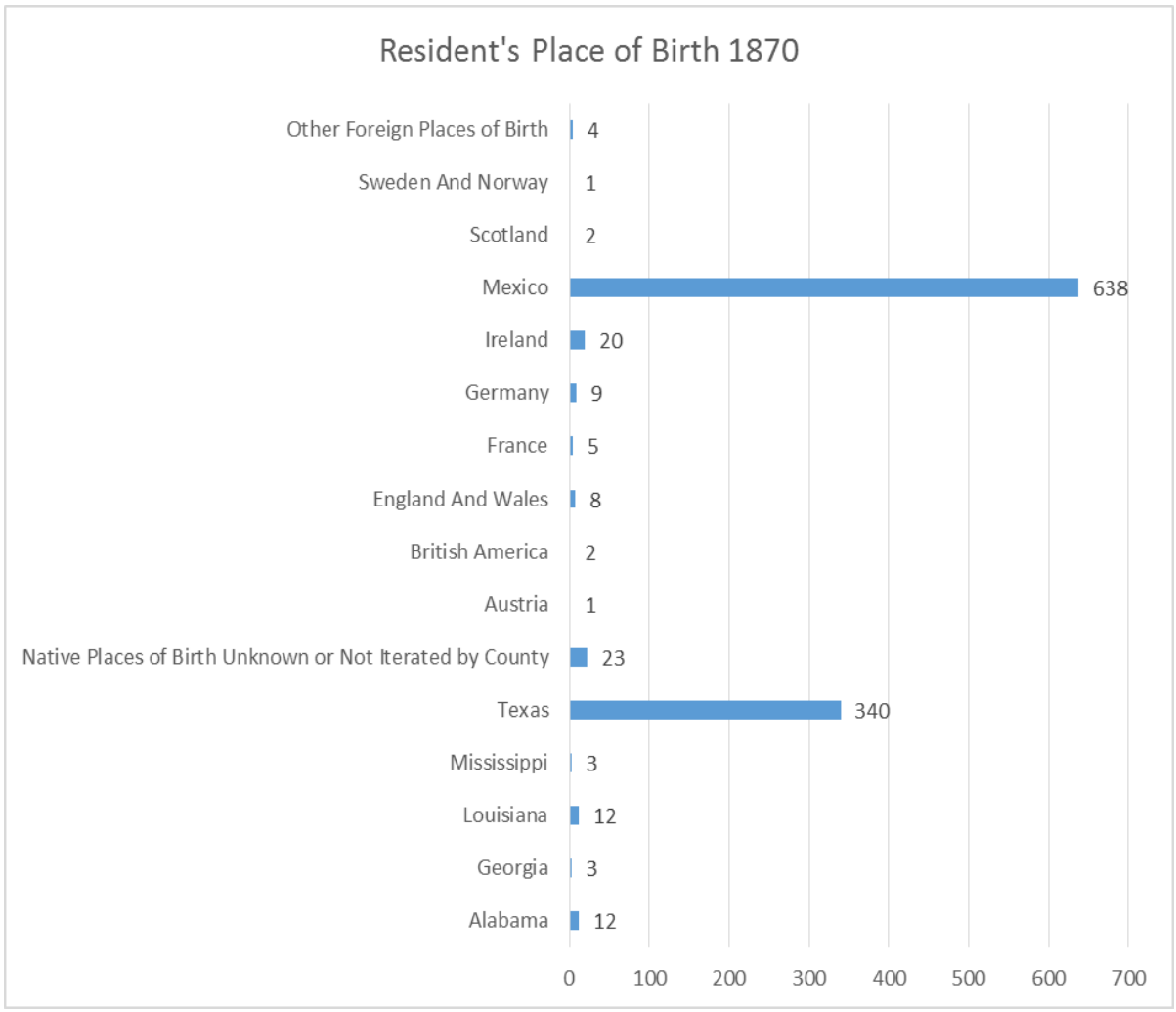


Figure 13 - Duval Resident's Place of Birth 1870

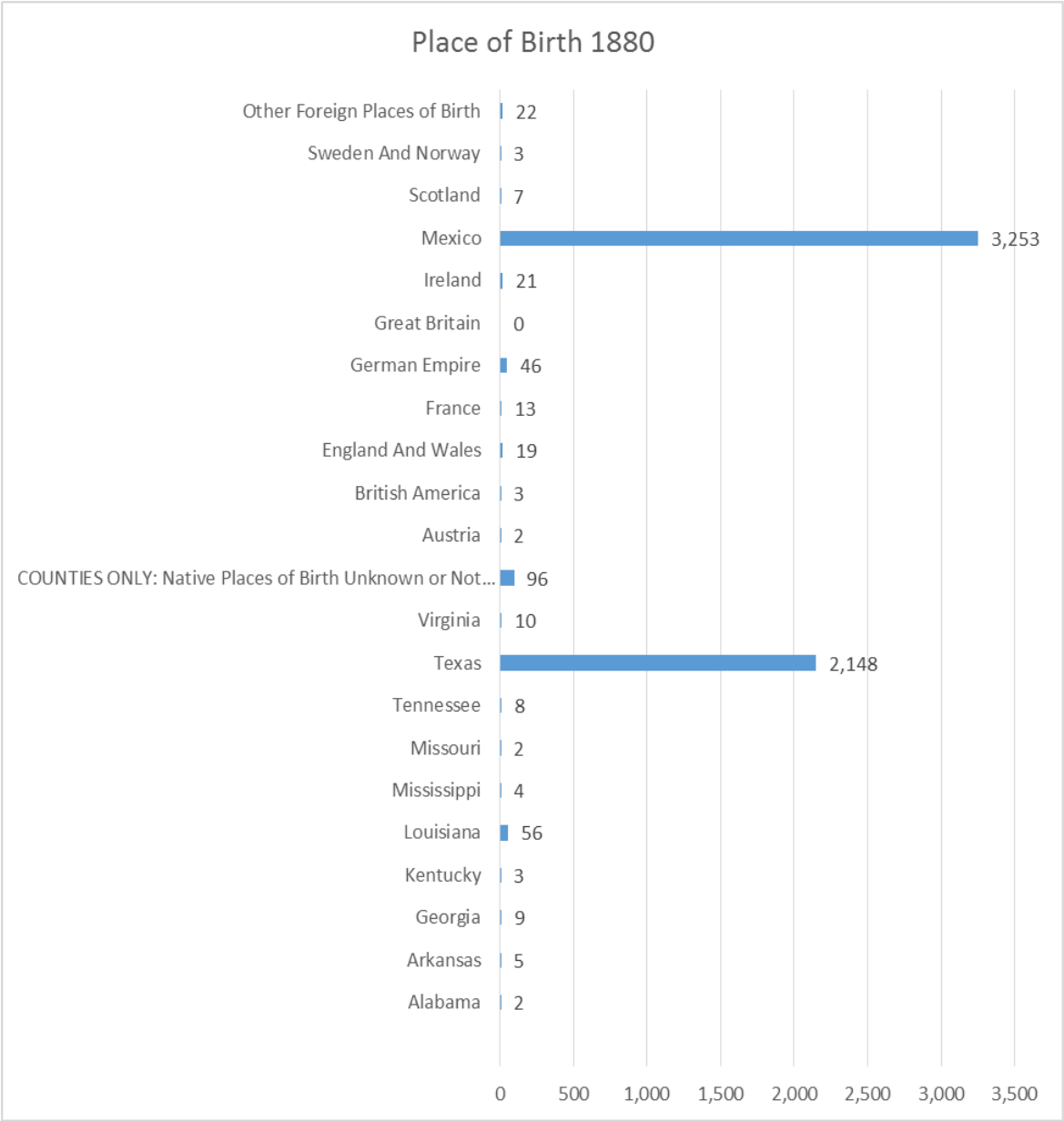


Figure 14 - Duval Resident's Place of Birth 1880

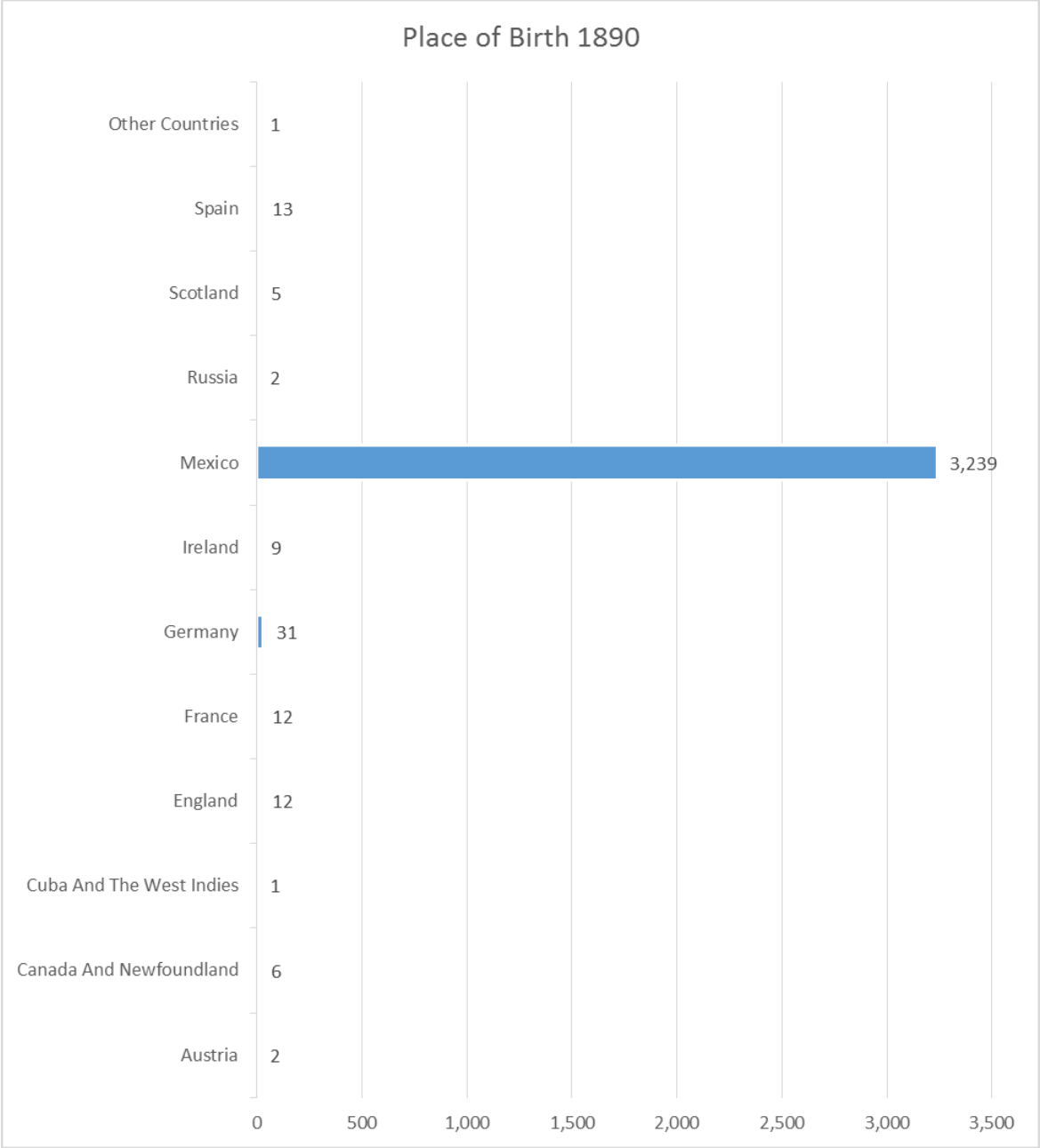


Figure 15 - Duval Resident's Place of Birth 1890

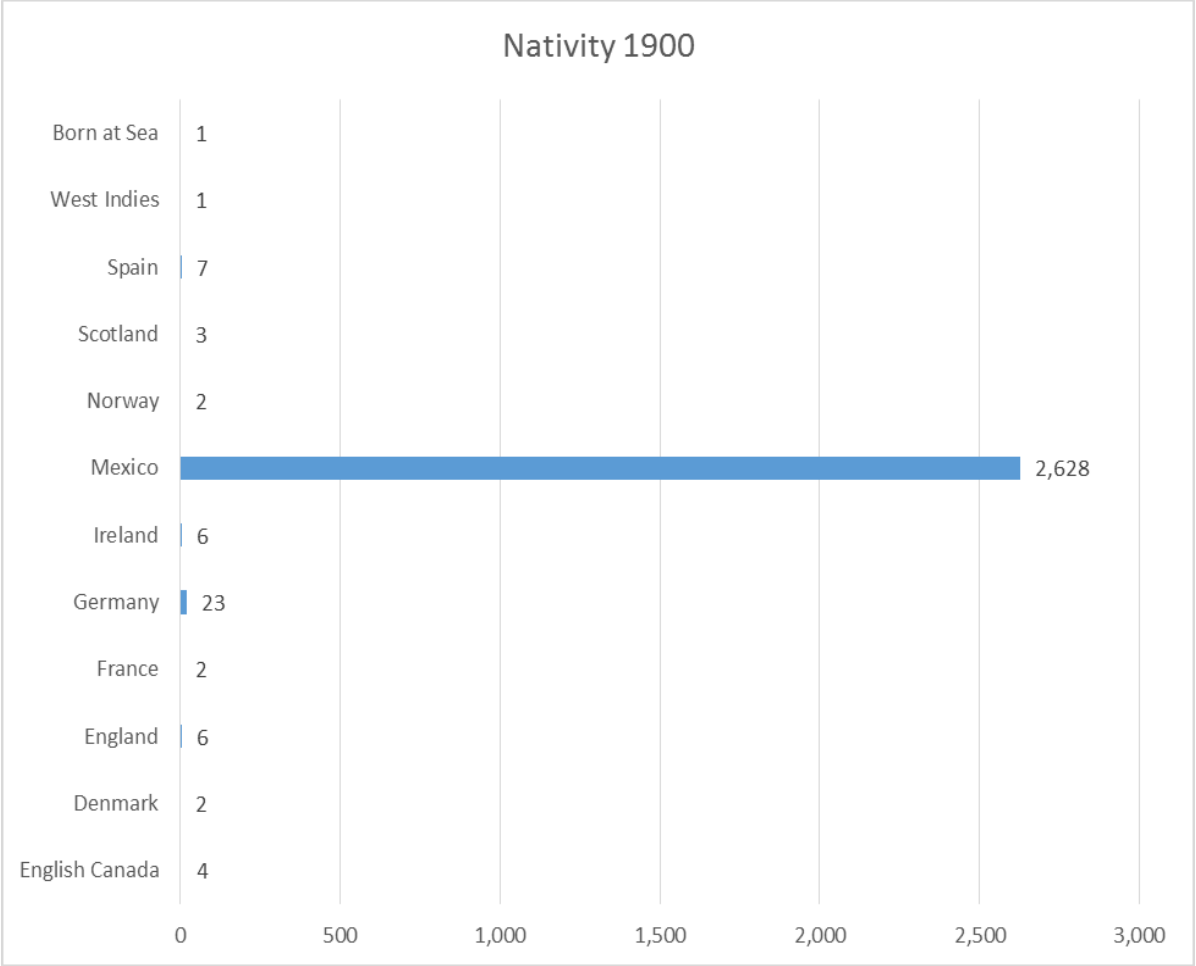


Figure 16 - Duval Resident's Nativity 1900

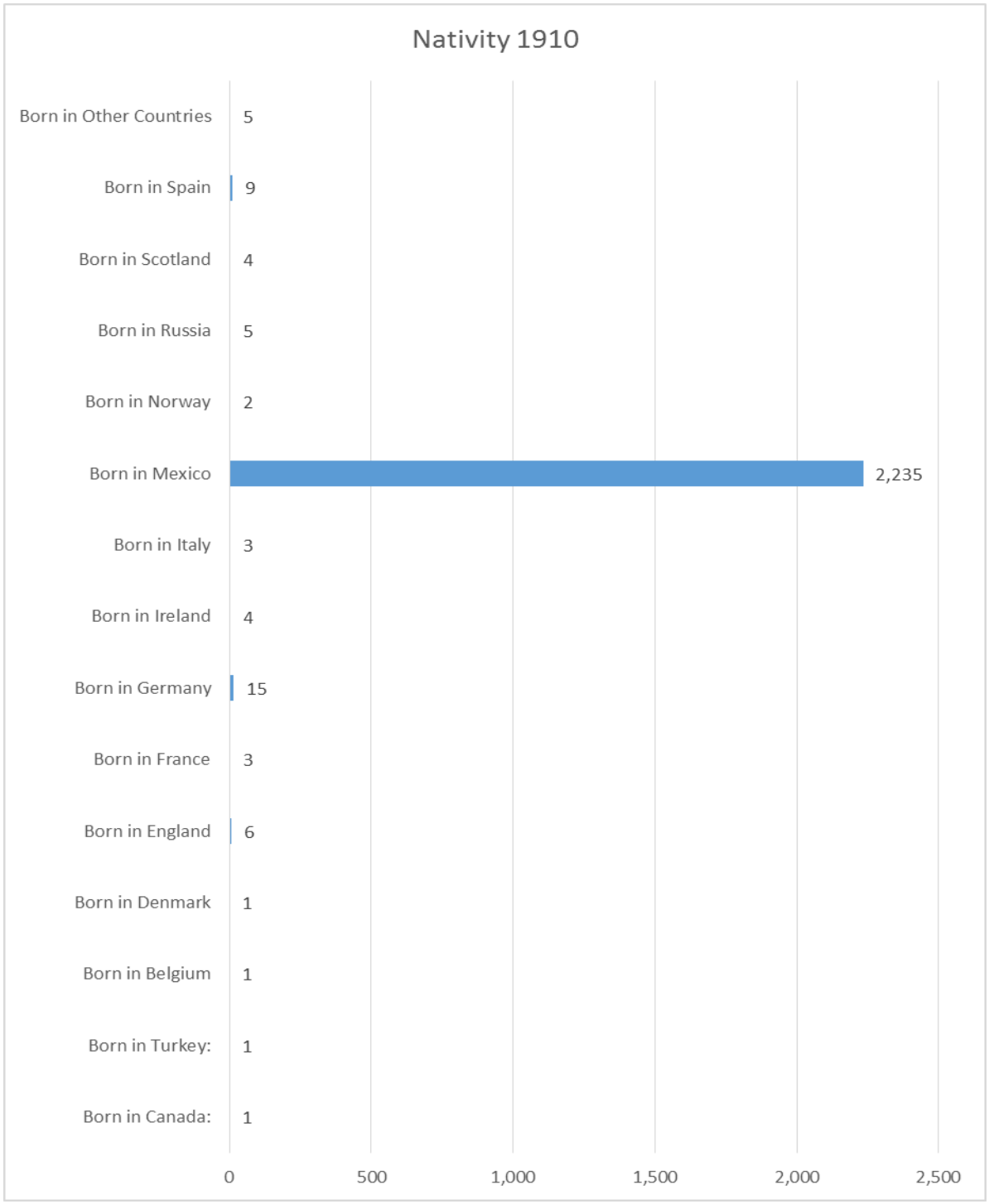


Figure 17 - Duval Resident's Nativity 1910

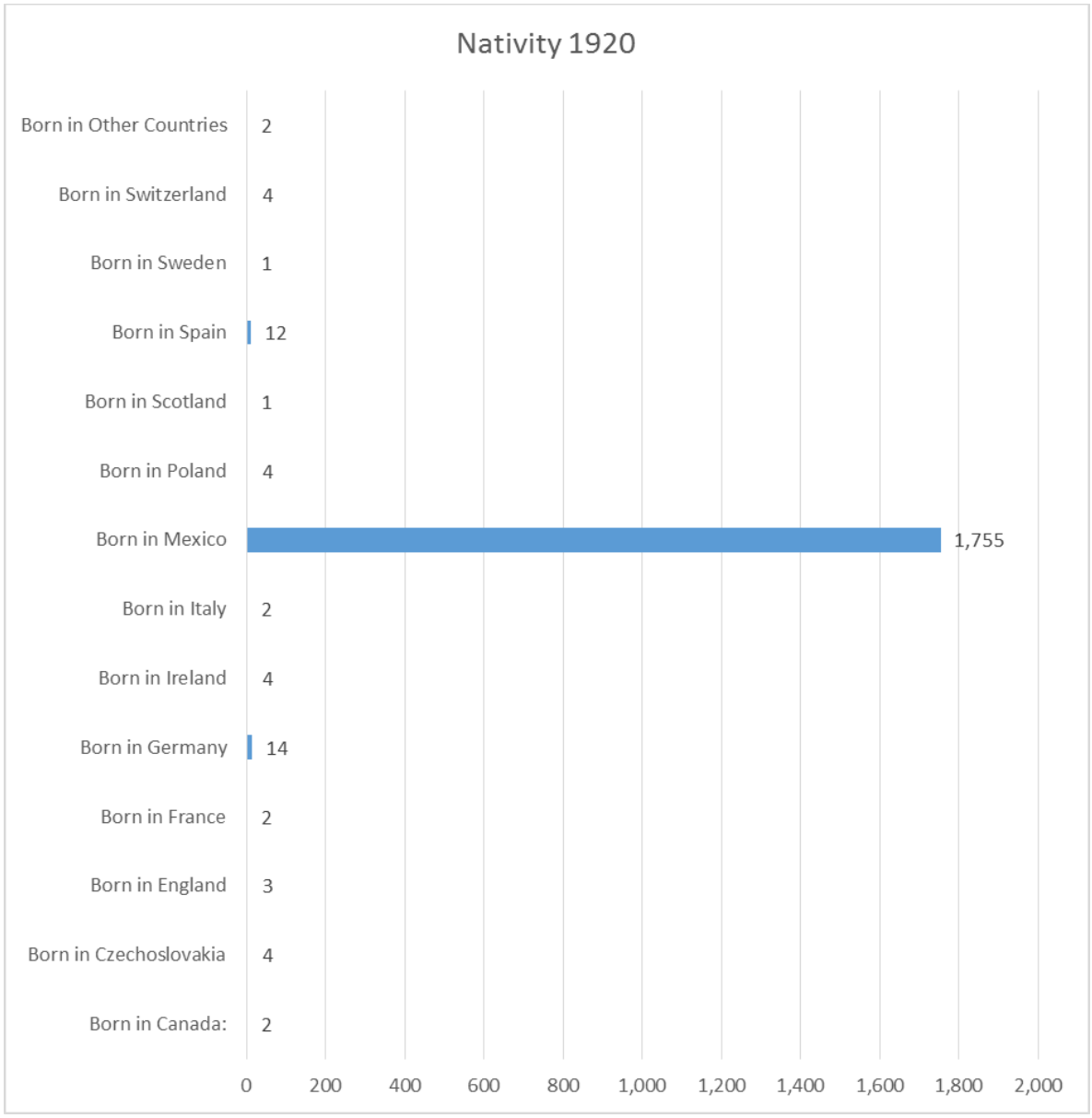


Figure 18 - Duval Resident's Nativity 1920

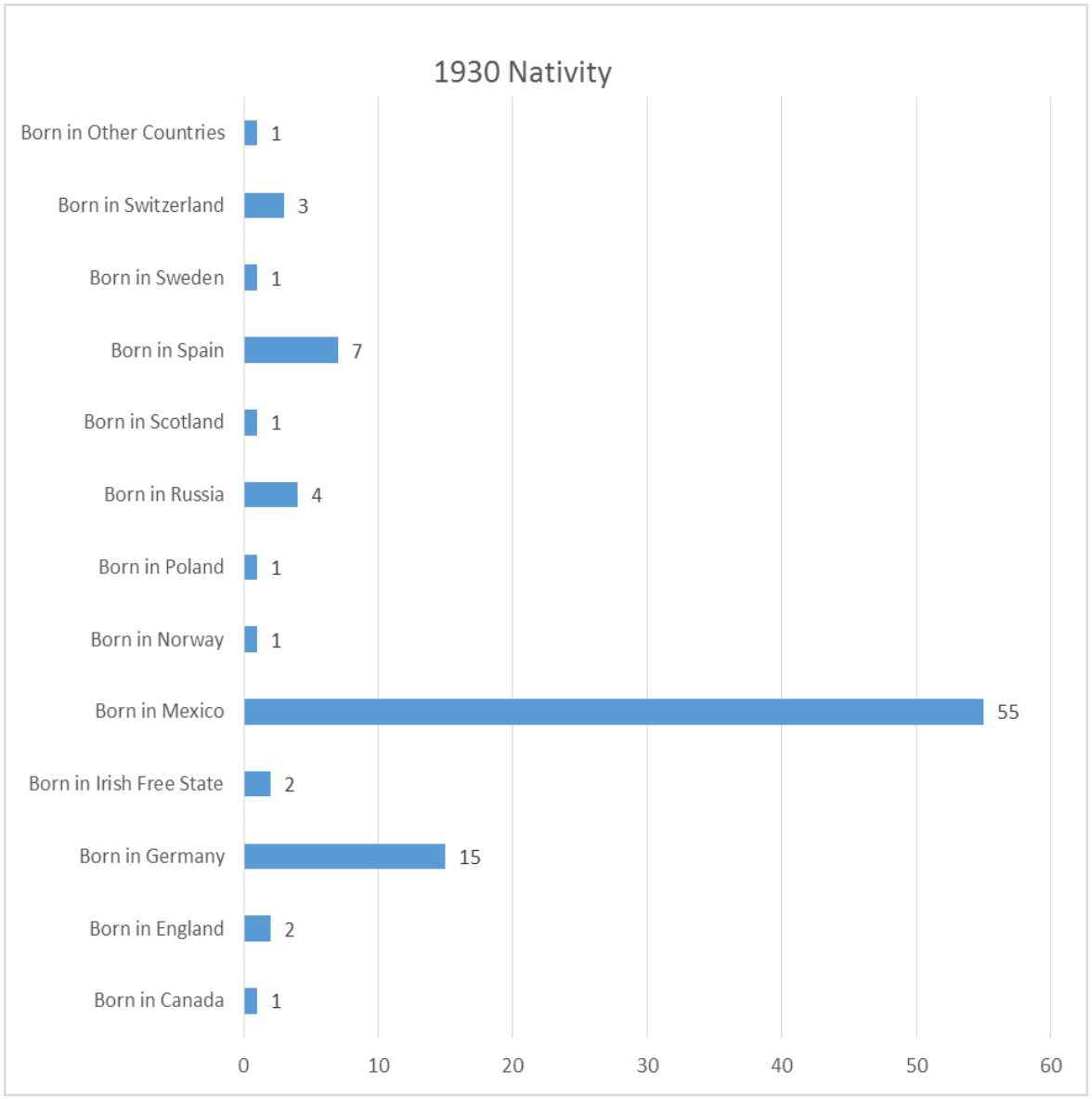


Figure 19 - Duval Resident's Nativity 1930

After the Plan de San Diego there is 97% change in population reporting parents born in México. Even accounting for population shifts and new generations, some of this change in self-reporting can be attributed to increasing violence against "Mexicans" therefore reluctance to identify as a person of Mexican descent during this time. This is a clear example of the ethno-genesis of a new identity, neither Mexican nor fully American, but both Mexican and American. While some residents feel that San Diego persons of Mexican descent were fully American, many, especially those with Anglo surnames or fair skin, acutely felt the discrimination against their darker or otherwise marked Mexican relatives. The shift in census identification coupled with the retention of the Mexican descent population shows how this change was felt by many classes of people in San Diego.

CEMETERIES

Another way to see race is to study family histories, and part of these histories are etched on the local cemetery plots as well detailed in the birth and marriage records. The Texas Historical committee records some of these family cemeteries, but other small cemeteries on ranches are not recorded in this way. Most Spanish and Mexican rancho settlements, as discussed by Galindo, were family units with extended relations and herdsmen or workers settled on their land, either as sharecroppers or as smaller landowners (Galindo, 2003).

Before the incorporation of the cities in Duval, early settlers were buried in family plots on these ranches. Even after the centralization of the County and the establishment of churches, families often used their ancestral cemeteries. Early settler ranches like

Sweden and Scottish American Cattle Company show the ethnicity of the residents in their names, others are less telling, while others show Spanish and Native American names.

The Texas Historical commission keeps a register of all known cemeteries, the mapping and preservation of the many existing but unacknowledged cemeteries is needed in Duval. The following map is not complete, but rather a re-iteration of the THC list. The difficulty in navigating current land ownership and the early cemeteries is enormous, but the families of Duval got together and re-wrote the cemetery map, it would re-write the history of Duval with primary, dateable sites.

Oral history in San Diego has instances where family members are no longer able to visit the graves of their predecessors due to inheritance of private land or sales. Texas Antiquities law allows for the access to historic cemeteries, one way to mediate the discrepancy between land ownership and previous occupation is to apply for historic cemetery status. New mobile applications with GPS points are available to help petitioners add the location of the burial sites to the state database of Historic Cemeteries.

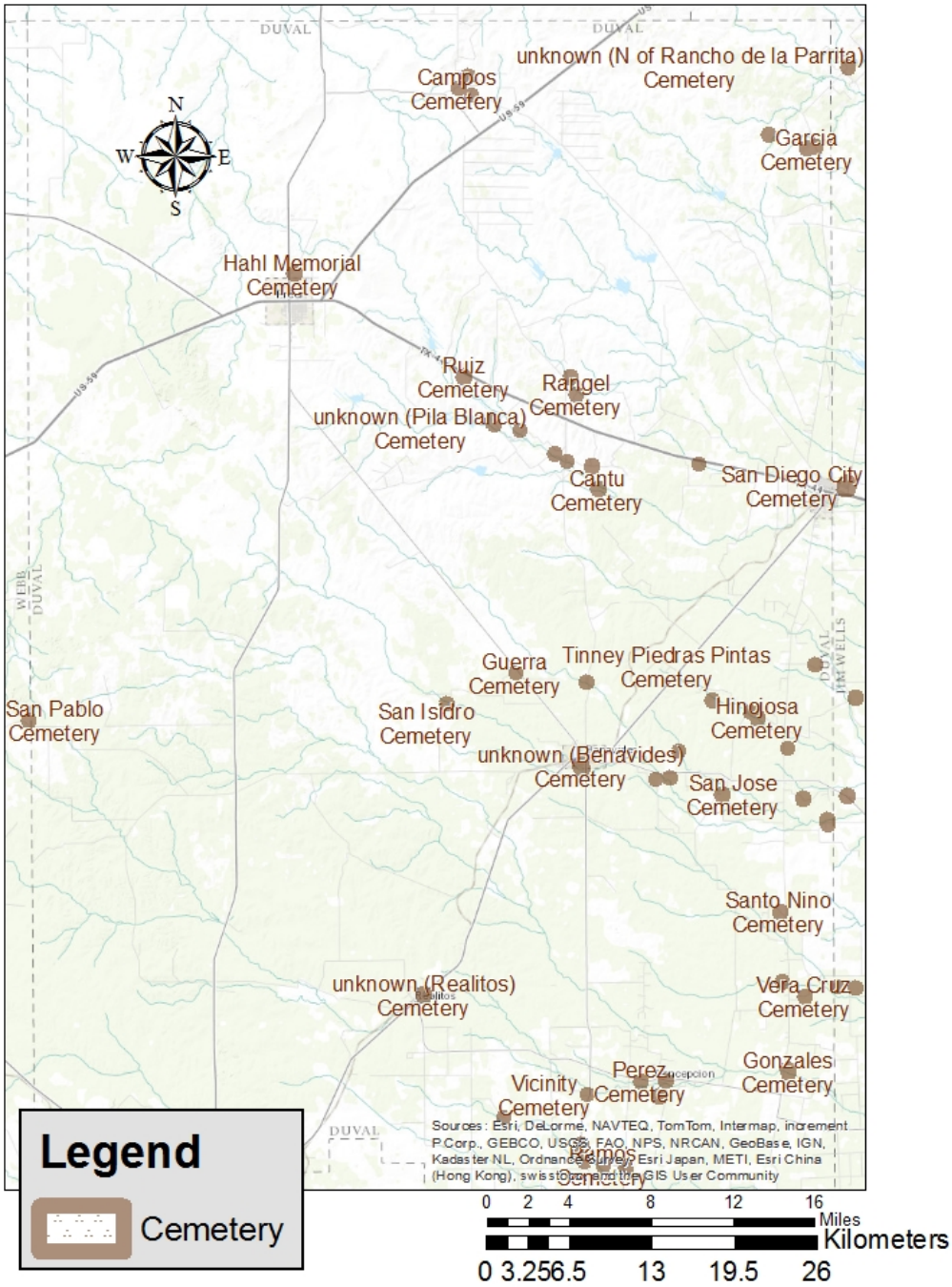


Figure 20 - Cemetery Map (Garza E. , 2013)

FIESTAS

San Diego is a town that likes to have fiestas, pageants and parades. The two plazas in San Diego are rare, and they do not denote ethnic different spaces, like some two plaza towns in New Mexico, but rather they were constructed to host multiple fiestas at the same time. This is rare in a city the size of San Diego, even though it is the County seat. The population of San Diego was large when the second Plaza was donated, but the town had a history of fiestas and took pride in having large harvest and holiday parties. Calderón and Arreola note that the two plaza layout evidences the wide participation of Duval County residents in the organization and enjoyment of local festivals celebrating a wide variety of holidays that included the surrounding areas (Calderón, 2012).

De León and Arreola both mark local celebrations as evidence of group identity in Mexican Americans in the early twentieth century, including events commemorating or celebrating harvests, religious events such as Easter, Christmas, and a number of political fiestas like *Fiestas Patrias*, Mexican Independence Day (*Deiz y Seis de Septiembre)* and *Cinco de Mayo* (Arreola D. , 2002; De León, They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900., 1983). These local Fiestas demonstrate solidarity and shared identity with the México. Similarly, a number of United States holidays were also celebrated on occasions such as President's Day, Veteran's Day and the Fourth of July evidencing the patriotic feeling of American identity by the population and elected officials, even when the majority of the local population was not allowed to participate fully in United States society (De León, 1983, pp. 10-13; De León, Social History of Mexican Americans in Ninteenth Century Duval County. San Diego, TX, 1978).

The news stories at the turn of the century show Mexican Americans maintaining traditional cultural fiestas, and engaging in significant community gatherings that included visitors for other cities like Laredo. The Horizonte, published as *EL HORIZONTE* in

Corpus Christi published a notice in Spanish calling for musicians to participate in a fiesta celebrated the first Tuesday in February at the principal plaza on January 28, 1880. The Horizonte was classed as second class mail matter, and on November 13 1880, a political plea help for Don Calixto Tovar was published, asking people to circulate with all classes at the San Diego quarterly fiesta (El Horizonte, November 13, 1880). Calixto Tovar was born in Duval County, Texas, and died 1928 in México, the nature of his political bid or troubles was not noted in the article. This shows the political nature of the fiestas, the common practice of politicking at the fiesta and the connections with Mier, and México in early Duval County.

The Galveston newspaper, one of the largest English language papers at the turn of the century had numerous accounts of San Diego fiestas that were later translated into the commercialized indigenous food festival Pan de Campo. The coverage implies that San Diego is known for elaborate fiestas, and like news coverage today, particularly highlights violence, death, marriage and divorce. The fall schedule of the Pan de Campo is analogous with the coverage of these early fiestas.

> The Mexicans here celebrated the eighty ninth anniversary of Mexican Independence by firing a canon……The San Diego gun club had a fine shoot at their grounds Saturday and a Mexican theatrical group played here the same night. And Ranger Tom O'Donnell brought in one Mexican Friday charged with carrying arms. He was tried before the County Court fined $25 and committed to jail (Galveston Daily News Tex. November 11, 1893).
>
> San Diego indulges its love for tableaux, theatricals very pleasantly" (Galveston Daily News Tex. November 2, 1893)
>
> It has been raining since about 7 o' clock and about 3 inches has fallen. One of the buildings in the plaza was blown down. It was to be used as a hotel during the fiesta. No one was hurt (Galveston Daily News August 31, 1895).
>
> Last evening Trinidad Agala, a Mexican from Laredo, dropped dead on the plaza at the fiesta grounds. Coroner Mount held an inquest and the verdict was that he died with congestion of the brain. His remains were shipped to Laredo. He had a

> candy stand on the plaza. One of the members of the Laredo band captivated Senorita Sora Ashton who was 'here during the fiesta a, and to-day Judge Mount married the couple and the bride and groom left to-day for Laredo. The fiesta winds up to-night with a grand ball at Levi's Hall after two weeks roaring time (Galveston Daily News September 19, 1895).
>
> During the fiesta, here, September 16, a member of the Laredo band, by [sic] named Felipe Breiton, married Miss Sebera Aston and took her with him to Laredo. Complaint was made before Judge Morut here charging him with bigamy. It being alleged that he had a wife in Webb County, Sheriff Buckley went to Corpus Christi last week and arrested and brought him back and placed him in jail. Today he was bound over to the grand jury and his bond placed at $500 which he has so far failed to give and he is behind bars (Galveston Daily News September 30, 1895).
>
> The public square in the town of San Diego has been lined up with a band stand and a number of canvas houses, and the annual fiesta will open here on Sunday and will continue for several weeks. Porfirio Campos whose upper jaw was shot off with a shotgun in Benavides in the early part of July has sufficiently recovered and will be able to sit up and walk around his recovery is now assured(Galveston Daily News August 14, 1900).

The fiestas were places to build community, but they were also fraught with danger. Candelario Sáenz the elder was accused of a murder that was drowned out by the noise of a fiesta. There are also accounts of arrests and murders at these gatherings, and there is not a baseline study of other regional fiestas to see if the San Diego festivities were more or less dangerous than those in other communities. Fiestas traditionally had horsemanship displays, pageants, cockfights, parades and dancing (Calderón, 2012).

The dances were very popular, and cited by many as a way to meet potential spouses and enjoy regional Mexican music and dances as well as the Big Band and classical music popular at the turn of the century. These music and dance traditions are carried on today, as *cumbias*, polkas and jitterbug dancing is still prevalent amongst multiple generations. The Pan de Campo festival is currently undergoing a reinvention and the food and music festival is being brought back after a decade hiatus.

CHAPTER 6: GARCÍA HOUSE

On the corner across from the new courthouse, a family of County employees, soldiers, doctors, mothers and priests built a modern house in 1902. The García household changed over time, from a single family residence to a multi generation multi-household compound with car dealership, mercantile and drafting shop. The pink house was built based on a draft done by one of its residents, who had a mail order degree in draftsmanship, later it was sheathed in asbestos tiles when another generation occupied it, and finally it stood alone after the family moved away in the 1980's until it was sold in 2011. The García house as multiple meanings to this dissertation: as the above ground archaeological repository of material culture examined to show what people in San Diego lived with it is an archive. It is also a physical presence on the map of San Diego in 1915 and today. The parcel of land also had a history of occupation by other members of the García family, a business attached to it, and a back house where family members lived. The trajectory of the land, the building of the house and the actions and accumulation of material goods all add to the evolution of the García's ethnicity, their local and global experiences and give context to the interactions with other ethnic groups in San Diego. The García house is tied to the colonization of Texas, the creation of Mexican American ethnicity and the experiences of turn of the century people in small town Texas.

The role that the land and the deeds that lead to the building of the house played in the construction of identity is multi-faceted. The ownership of land and title blended the Spanish colonial property ownership model with the Texas and Anglo understanding of private property. Just as current family and property law in Texas blends the Spanish and English models, the factors of land ownership, status, gender and profession are a unique

blend in this borderland community. By analyzing the deeds, family history, business transactions, and professions of the Gracias, a picture of the unique and community experiences in San Diego emerges. The García house shows how women could own property, the effect on military involvement in global intersections in San Diego and the wealth of material goods that shows power and the local/global economic history of San Diego.

Most archaeological projects involve excavation, spatially bounded to a geographic area or site. In Historic archaeology the standard practice includes title research that show a history of ownership, changes to land boundaries, and a written archive of the social history of that parcel of land. There is a specific legal language this history is encoded in, and the archives of titles, bills of sale and tax records provide a backdrop with which to understand the artifacts associated with the site. The García household evolution and trajectory of ownership also shows colonial changes, personal identity shifts how land ownership functioned in a multiethnic frontier town and gives a more holistic understanding of San Diego at the turn of the century.

This chapter examines the documents and oral history relating to the García house. By tracing the history of the city of San Diego through this one parcel of land through 1850-1950 and analyzing the above ground archaeological deposit of the contents of the attic, this gives broader historical relationships that added to the creation of Mexican American identity, gender and class identities through multiple generations. The García House was owned by both men and women in this family, as well as cared for by different women during the Spanish American, WWI, WWII and Korean wars. The property was last owned and lived in by female members of the family starting the granddaughter of the original Land grant holder, Encaracion García, who parceled out the San Diego de Ariba section of the Land grant into lots, and assigned places for a church and a plaza (Perez,

2003) to her daughter Ana M Collins and ending with the mother and daughter and last owners of the house, and the archaeological materials included epistolary exchanges, coins dating from the civil war, and anarchist materials dating to the period of the Plan de San Diego. This gives associations between ethnicity and power without essentializing the connections between people and things, gives insight to gender norms and behaviors for the community of San Diego and the larger Mexican American border communities.

Following Meskell 2001, I look at the García House as imbued with multiple meanings (Meskell, 2001). I extended the history of this house to encompass previous generations of ownership to show time depth of land tenure ship as well as to establish intergenerational practices of land inheritance and to try to avoid simply reifying connections between land ownership, masculinity and power in Spanish colonial and later Mexican colonial households. The inheritance of land shows the transfer of cultural capital for the next generation, status, lineage, masculinity and agricultural power. Households are also central to different forms of power and gendered space, as Wiesmantle showed in Food Gender and Poverty in the Ecuadorian Andes (Weismantel, 1988). Unpackaging the meaning of land ownership in a thrice colonized place imbues even common object with complex meanings and social histories. The artifacts from the García house have to be recognized not just as common purchases forgotten in an attic, but as imbued with multiple lines of complex significance.

Instead of focusing on a single aspect of identity, I am looking at the multiple identity groups that the inhabitants of 111 Seguin belonged to, their ethnicity, class and gender are imbued in their material leftovers in an approach similar Voss with gender and identity, Mullins on Race and consumption (Voss B. , 2008; Mullins, a Race and the Genteel Consumer: Class and African-American Consumption. Historical Archaeology, 1999). The intersections of identity and place accompany my narrative about the Plan de

San Diego and the analytical framework for the evidence of shifting identities and multiple communities within San Diego.

Mexican American ethnogenesis was not a unified homogenous process, but contained multiple identities. Any material evidence in the attic has a set of cultural arguments and contributes differently to identity construction of the inhabitants (Comaroff, 1992, pp. 33-34). Taking a broad approach to identity and the objects in the attic as a group instead of focusing on a single facet of identity or small subset of objects I hope to address the lack of scholarship on Mexican Americans in general and to encourage further study of Mexican American material culture without falling into what Beaudry and Loren warn is an "essentializing trap of linking objects to one particular group" (Loren, 2006, p. 256). Material culture and personal artifacts left in this attic are a lens to examine the García's lives, particularly along lines of gender, ethnicity, class, age. Materials have aspects of nationalism and religion, and employment well. The activities the García's engaged in, reflect their individual choices as well as the choices available to others in San Diego. This dissertation is an attempt to connect multiple lines of evidence, and by taking a macro scale analysis of the material remains I hope to show that material goods are intertwined with different aspects of identity and experiences.

Deeds

Like cultural landscape studies and historic archaeology that approaches land, houses do not stand alone in the community. Houses can be viewed as part of the landscape and part of national and ethnic identity as Arreola argued (Arreola D. , 2002). Settlement patterns can be linked to larger colonial identities and local translation of architectural and social hierarchies. The land the house was built on has a social history of Spanish and

English legal conventions of taxation and inheritance that are artifacts of identity construction on their own. The documentary evidence if fragmented in the case of San Diego due to the courthouse fire, but the trajectory of Texas can be mapped through the state and local representation in wills and deeds as well as the arrangement of houses on the particular parcel of land on the particular street in this infamous town.

Deeds and wills are important to the construction of identity as they transfer property as well as restrictive covenants, cultural mores and cultural history. Titles to land are memories of past generations that remains indelibly sketched on the landscape along with the architectural remains. The attic also shows how the García's shaped other households through drafting and translating house plans for San Diego neighbors. Holotorf and Williams point out that memories and mythologies are linked to landscapes (Hicks, 2006). Landscapes are historical records, holding multiple memories. San Diego has been inhabited, viewed and altered from within the community and outside forces. Cultural landscapes can symbolize memories, and become monuments. Landscapes are often associated to 'mediated remembrance and memory' in correspond to their ability to either stimulate or hide the once existing history (Hicks, 2006, p. 235). The eking out of a living and building of a home transmit what the residents hoped for future generations, and those aspirations transferred across generations along with property deeds.

Title research is not the just the repetition of words in legal documents detailing ownership of land, but rather a lively clue chase filled with twists and turns, feuds and family secrets. David J. Siddle followed property transfer in early France and shows how there are clear social and political imprints on the transfer of titles (Siddle, 1995, pp. 11,23). The legalese or formulaic language can mask land's meanings to the culture that inhabits them and the individual owners, but by unpackaging the social and historic complexities

of deed transfers some of the cultural context can be read in the documents (Kopytof, 1986).

Trajectory of place

The land existed before the town, of course, but by tracing the evolution of place and property, I hope to unpackaged some of the culturally specific meanings of place and the ways in which this Mexican American household in unique.

Often, daily activities are not historical accounts, but material remains leave physical evidence and material remains are source of power. The physical presence of material remains, verified the senses, carries credibility (Brumfiel, 2003). The control of material remains and representation of the past confers the researcher the ability to choose the interpretation of the past, and seize control of representation (La Roche, 1997). The material component of this site came from an attic deposit dated from the epistolary exchanges and coins to have started in the late 1800's and finished in the 1980's. The areas of particular importance was the time of the Plan De San Diego. The attic materials painted a picture of literate, well-traveled, industrious people who sewed their own clothes, raised livestock and leased land, as well as subscribed to many English and Spanish language periodicals, including some socialist leaning media. Some of the occupants were children, some smoked, and there was evidence of hunting fishing and military service.

Because of the dry hot attic, there was an amazing level of preservation of paper materials, unfortunately, bioturbation had affected the attic contents. The inventory list is attached as Appendix B. The approximate representative samples are as follows:

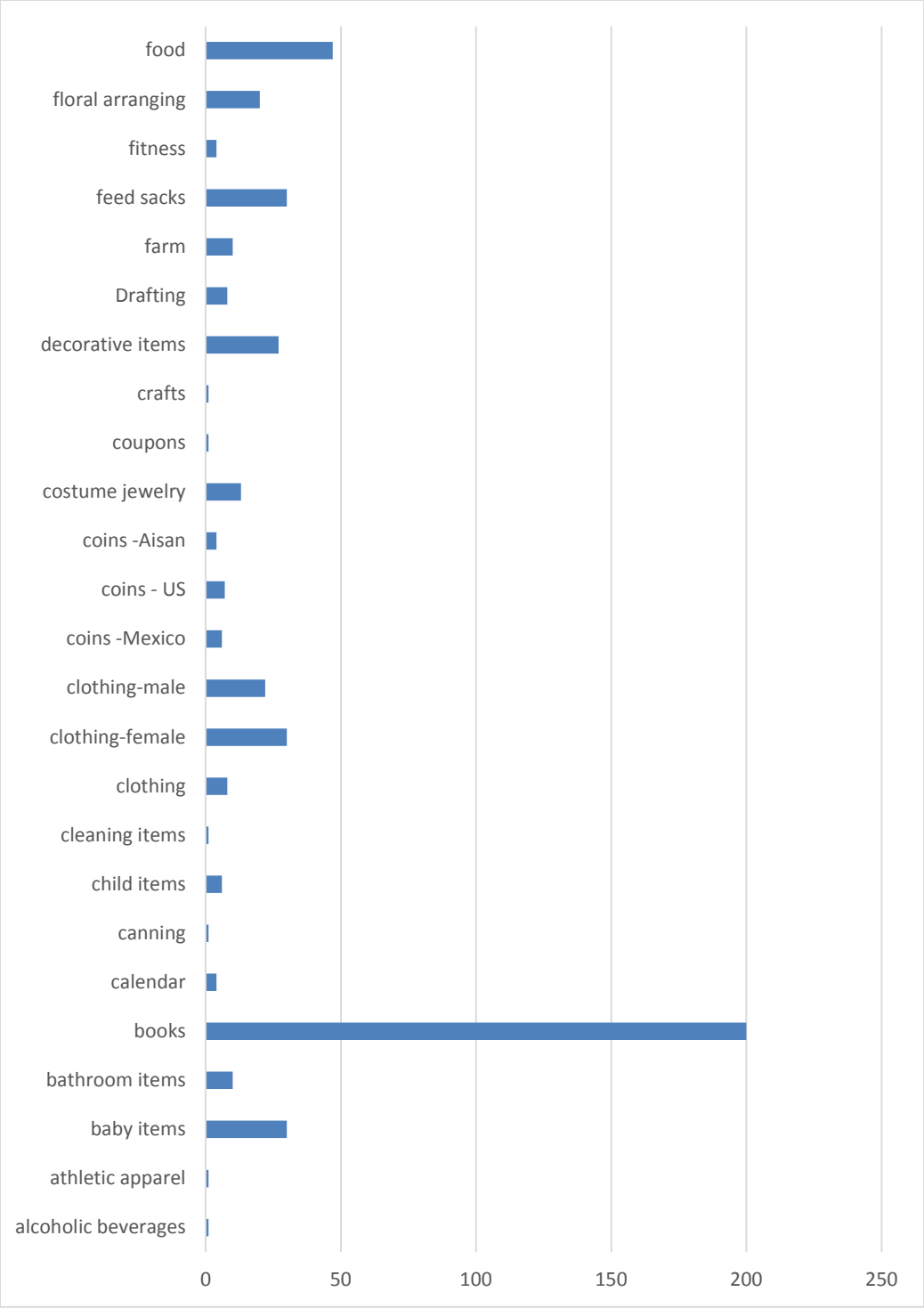


Figure 21 - Attic inventory

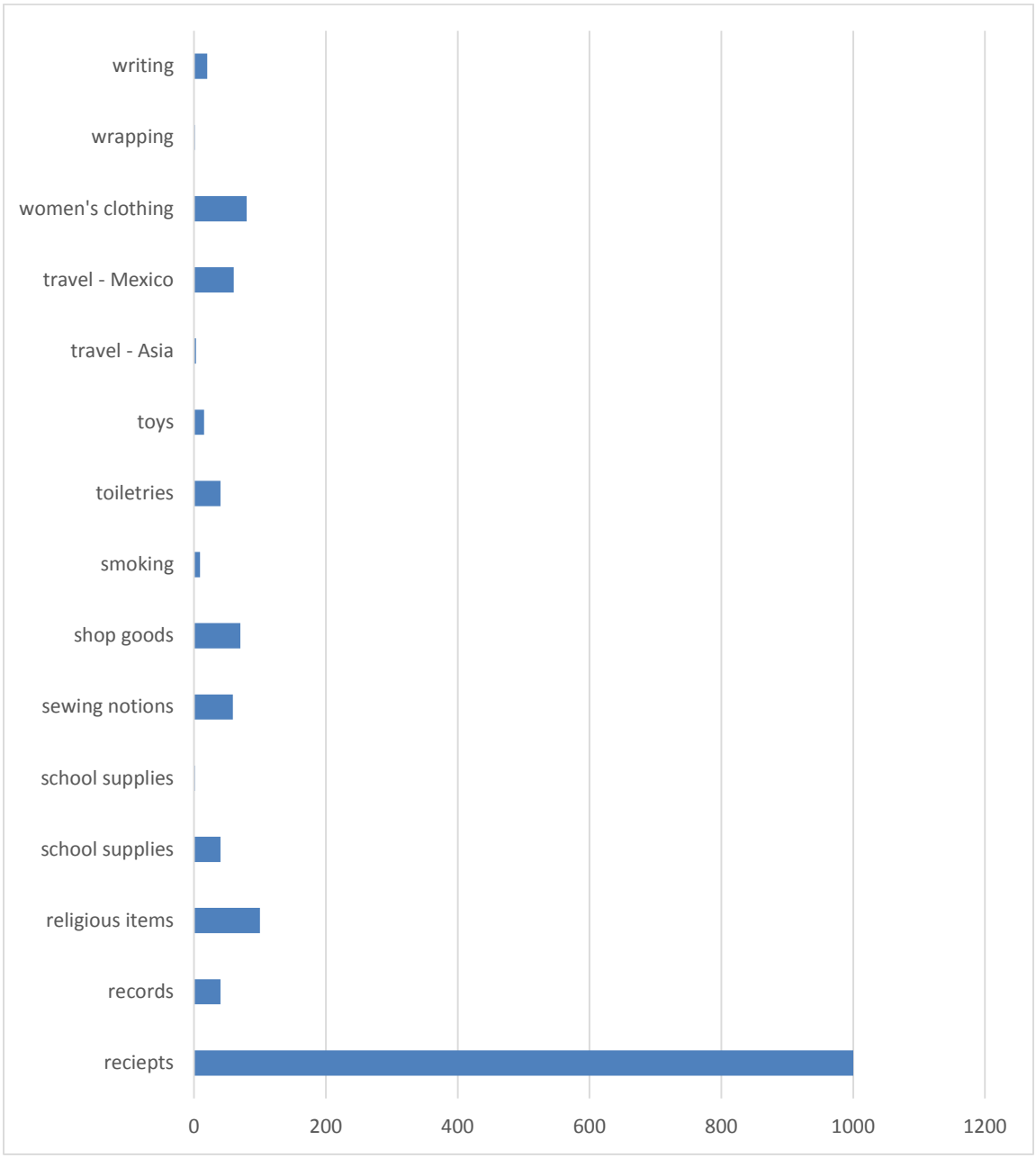


Figure 22 - Attic Inventory Continued

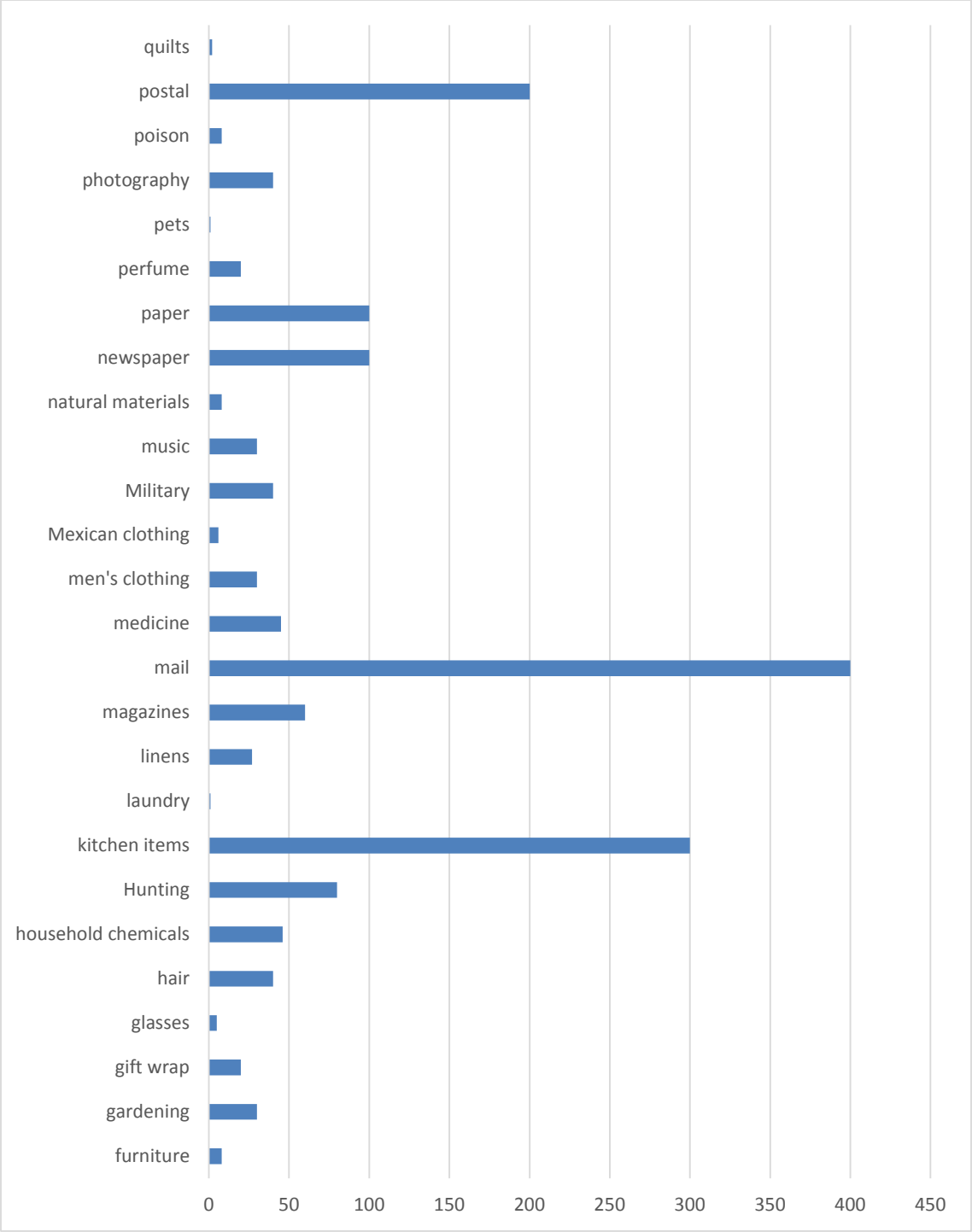


Figure 23 - Attic Inventory continued 2

Photographs

The Mary & Jeff Bell Library at Texas A & M University-Corpus Christi houses detailed early photos of San Diego, with their permission I am including some of these enlargements from the composite photograph taken by photographer Louis De Planque in 1876. This shows the setting of the García House at that time (De Planque, Mary & Jeff Bell LibrarySouth Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, 1876) The first picture has 49 structures are visible, of that number, many are two story buildings. The town has a wide main street and is arranged in a grid-like fashion, with some fenced yards. There are jacals visible in this photo that was probably taken from the water tower on the north side of town, but they are associated with animal pens, and are not depicted with inhabitants.

These photos provide valuable insights about the houses and households of San Diego. Like the material evidence, they paint a different picture than the accepted history of San Diego. It was not only known to transients and cattle thieves, but was a settled town, with wide roads, picket fences, and various household groups including families and corporate households like boarding houses and hotels. At the time these photos were taken, there was already two plazas, and San Diego was the economic center for the surrounding rancho communities.

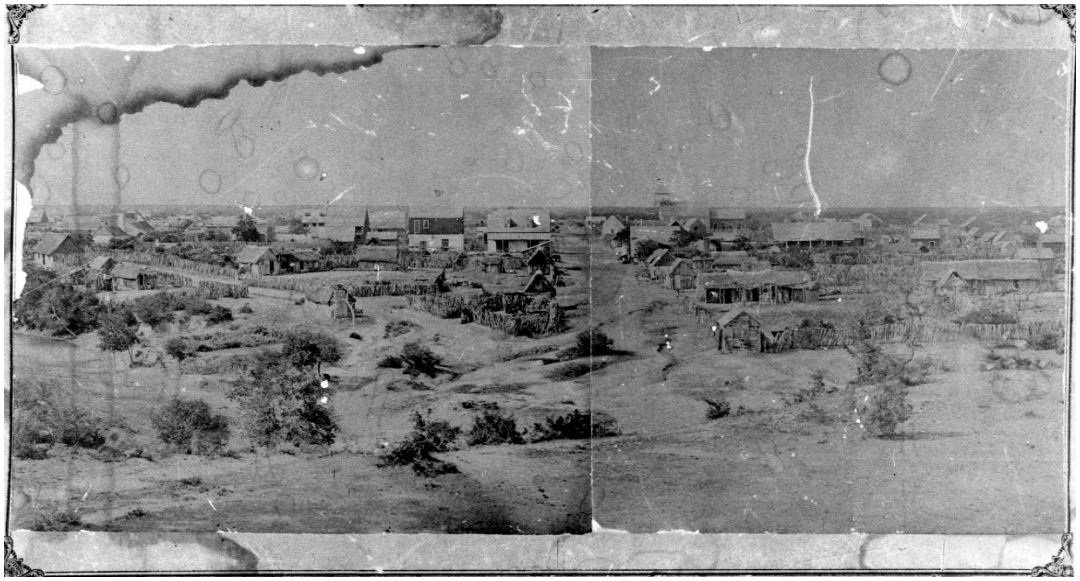


Figure 24 - De Planque Panoramic Photograph (De Planque, Mary & Jeff Bell LibrarySouth Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, 1876)

The above photo taken in 1876 by Louis De Planque does not show the creek, and we know that the original town was on the north side of the San Diego Creek, so it is most likely facing south, east or west. The lack of grass and trees can be attributed to the droughts that were reported in the pre-1900's news reports for the area, as well as the abundance of roaming herds of cattle that kept the grass and trees to a minimum along with the use of wood burning stoves for heating and cooking. Like today, the population of San Diego also included the people living in the surrounding ranches, so the 1870 census with over 1000 people living in Duval county, few of them lived in the three cities that existed according to family traditions and photographs. This photograph contests the assertion made by the institute of Texas Cultures that early Mexican American residents of Duval lived in jacals, by showing the town having multiple permanent houses only 10 years after its official founding according to the State of Texas. The stores pictured in detail show the nature of the city of San Diego as one of trade and commerce.

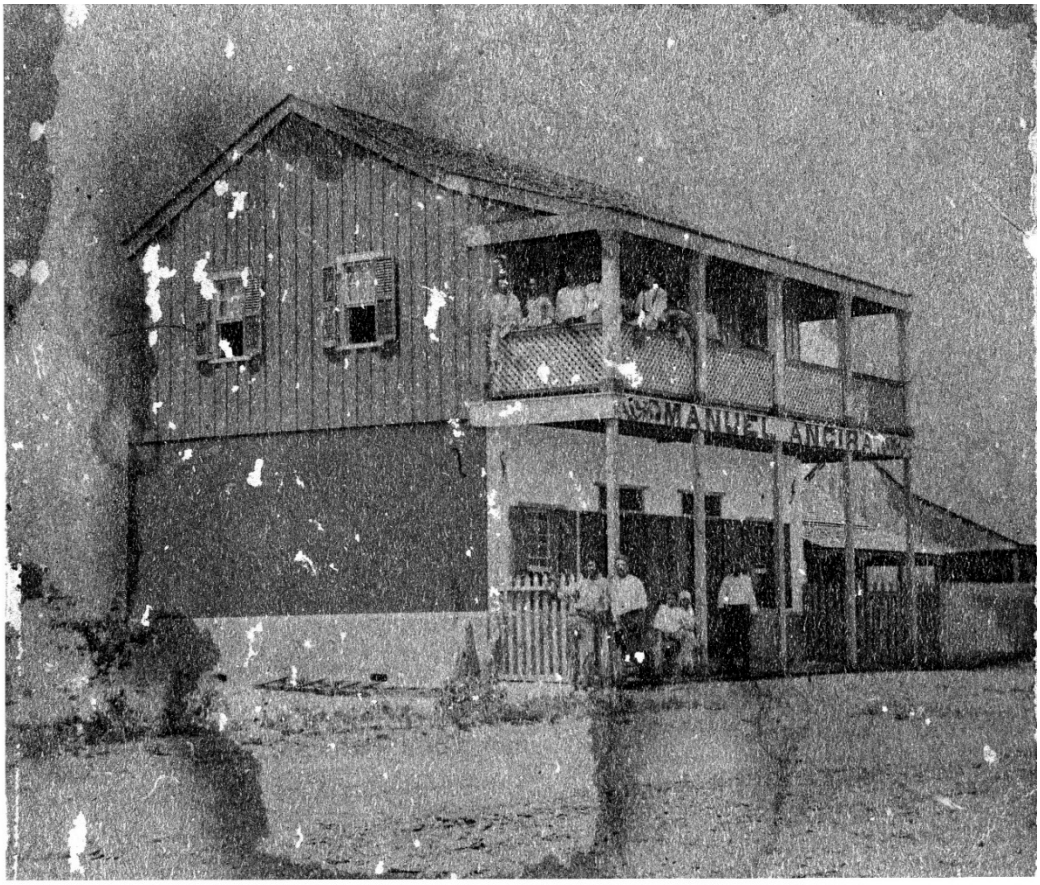


Figure 25- Manuel Ancira store (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

This Louis De Planque photograph shows the early building type common in San Diego, and the prevalence of Mexican American store owners, as well as common clothing in early San Diego. The first floor of the Ancira store is sillar, or the roughly two foot wide *caliche* limestone blocks that are stacked in a running brick patterns to make thick walled buildings. These buildings stay cool in summer and warm in winter. The second story is made of wood, and all the windows have shutters, both to control the entrance of the sun and to provide protection from bullets and arrows. The ornate lattice surrounding the second story porch is unusual, and does not survive today on this building. This photo confirms the news reports of multiple prosperous stores before 1900.

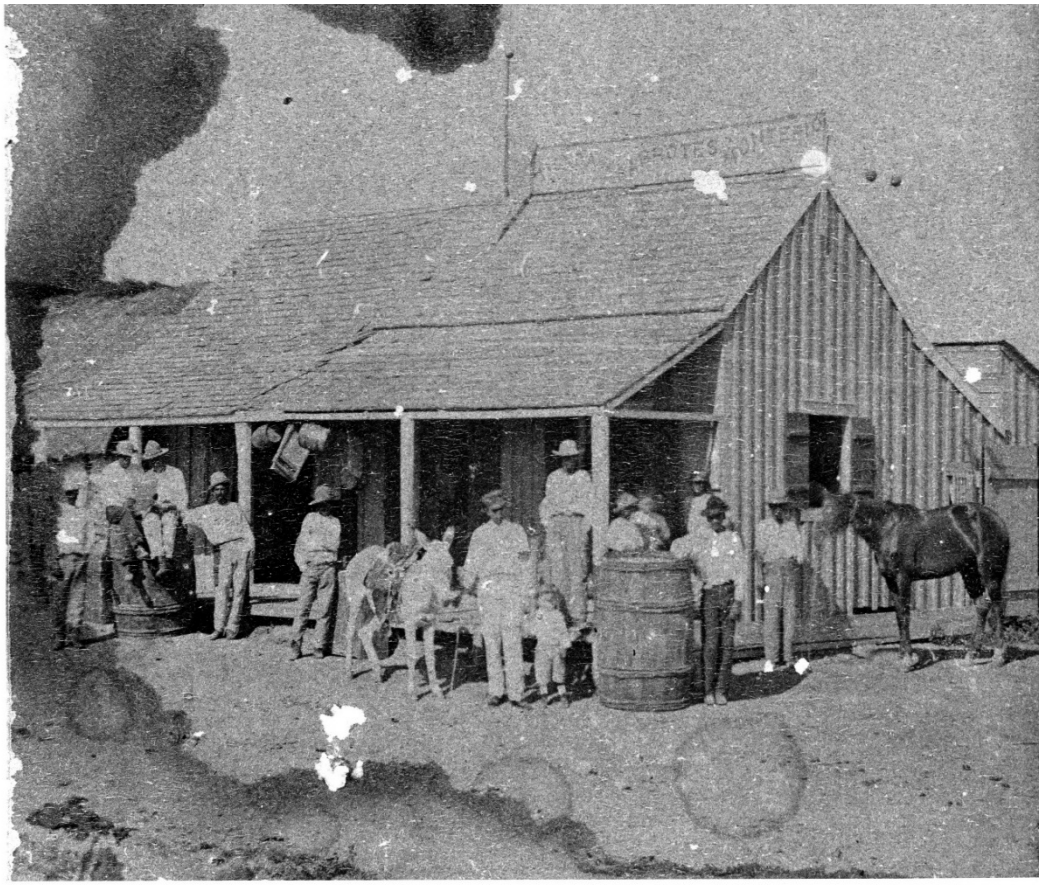


Figure 26 - San Diego Store (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

This Louis De Planque photo gives insights to the clothing worn by a large number of early San Diego residents. While the pants are not all the same, there does seem to be a similar uniform of pants and long sleeves shirts as well as hats that appear to be work clothes worn by the men in this photo. It also reveals that donkeys or mules as well as horses were parked in front of the stores while patrons shopped. The large water barrel might be similar to the one used at the courthouse which was a rented wooden building similar to this store. This photo and the following photos show that even the one story houses had wide porches.

Figure 27 - San Diego Residence (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

This Louis De Planque photo is presumably a residence, showing bales of cotton or wool alongside the picket fence. There are two decorate arbors covered with vines visible, as well as a large porch and two chimneys. This residence has a light, modern buggy posed in front, with what appears to be a couple seated behind the light colored horse. Children are playing on the bales, which can safely be assumed to be one of the sources of income for this household. The high pitched roofs are similar in these photos, they allow for high ceilings and air circulation as well as providing covered porch areas both in front of and behind the home.

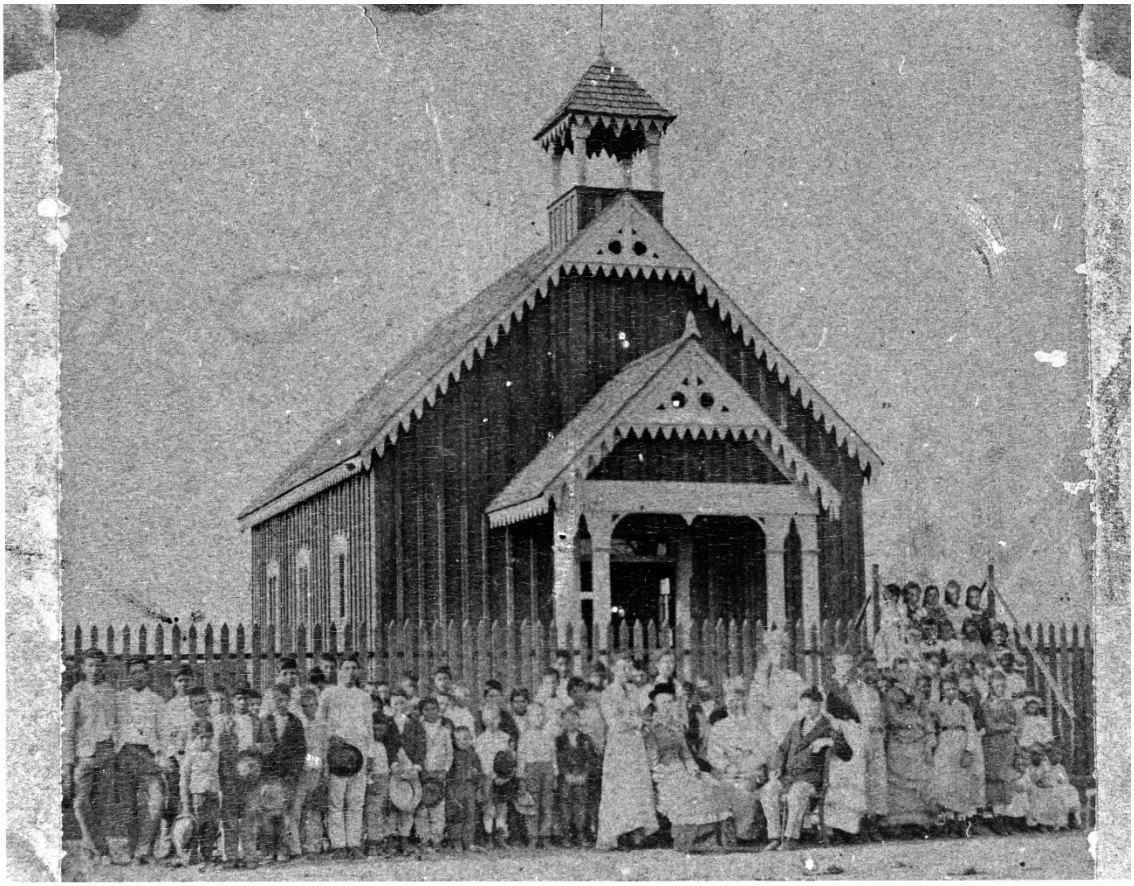


Figure 28 – School (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

This Louis De Planque photo shows the one room school house, with ornate gingerbread trim and an elaborate entry porch. The students are lined up, segregated by gender with the teachers in the middle. One of the teachers is Agustin Garza, another is Fane Carrillo. This also reinforces that the clothing of the turn of the century included hats, and the school children are also wearing jackets, or long sleeve dresses, showing the adopted Victorian fashions found in catalogs of the day. Oral tradition holds that local seamstresses would copy the fashions from magazines and catalogs, sometimes with any available fabric including feed and supply sacks.

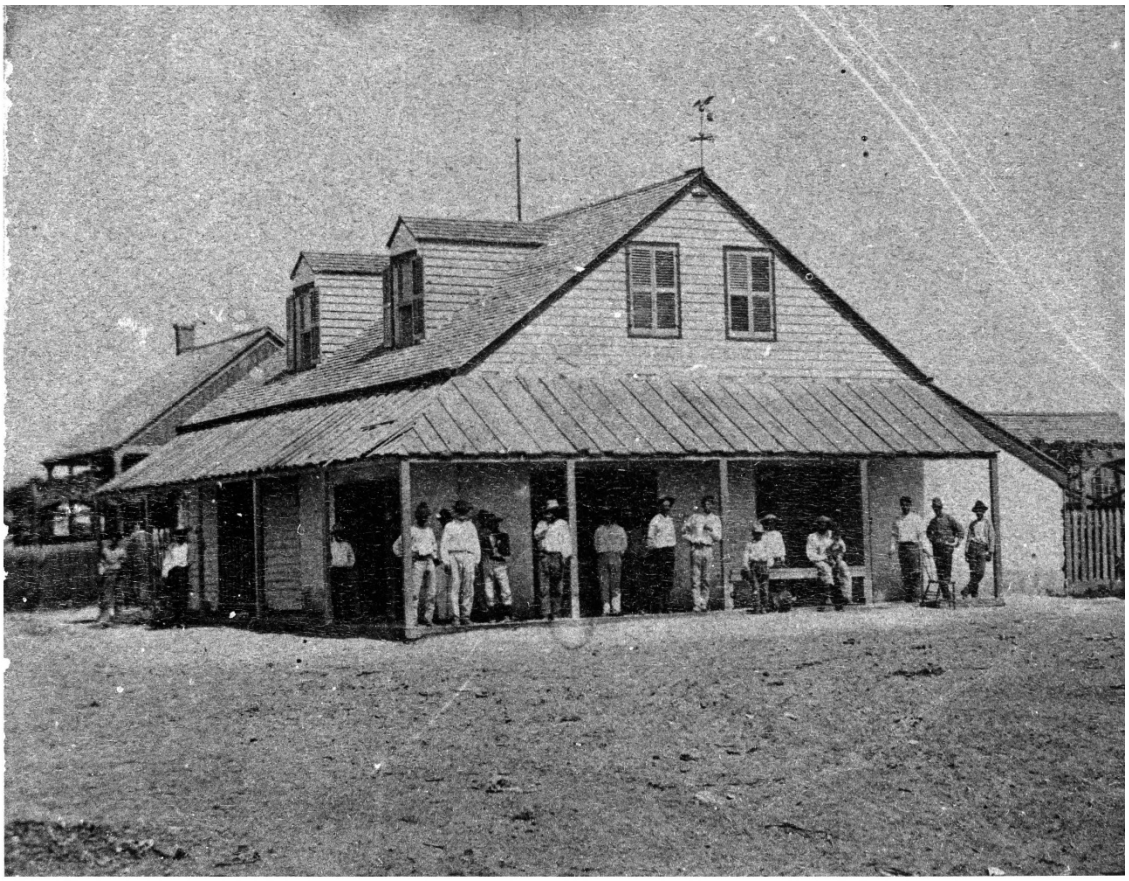


Figure 29 - Unknown Building (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

This Louis De Planque photo could depict a residence or a business. The building appears to have been built in phases, or deliberately with different materials. The back of the house appears to be stone, while the rest is a balloon frame wooden house. The gables in the attic suggest that there are rooms there. The photographer Louis De Planque is famous for taking some of the earliest African American and Mexican American photos in Texas, taken at their residences. Based on the historical data that suggests that there were multiple hotels and boarding houses in San Diego, it is possible that this is one of the places Vaqueros stayed as they started moving herds north before the railroad changed that practice. Later seasonal laborers came to San Diego for the wool clip and cotton harvest.

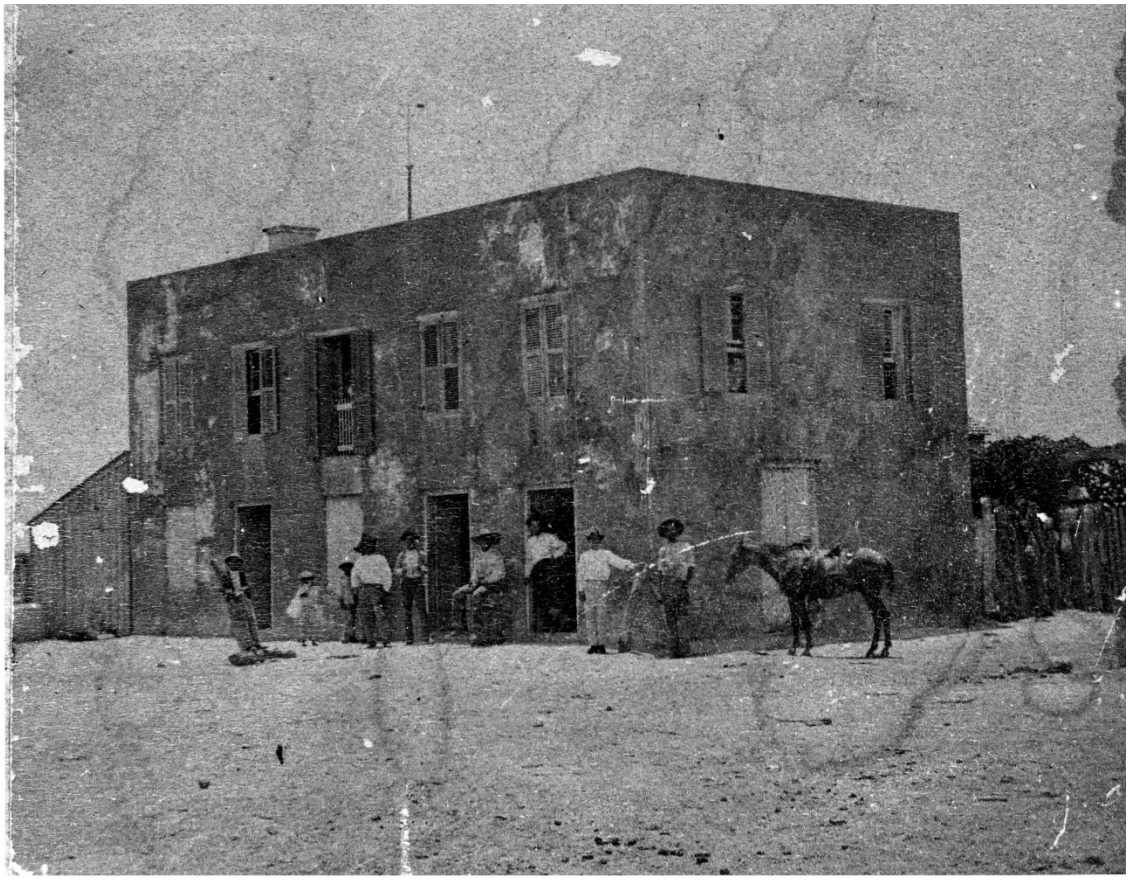


Figure 30 - Sillar residence (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

This early sillar building could be a residence or a store, it is similar to an early feed store located just north of the creek. This is a typical sillar construction, with thick walls that were cool in summer and warm in winter. The ubiquitous shutters show some variation, including the herringbone pattern found at the earliest post office, possibly dating this building to a similar construction time in the early 1800's. The men outside exhibit the same clothes as the men in the other pictures. This Louis De Planque photo alludes to the gendered space noted by Catarino Garza in his memoir, mostly men are standing outside of the houses.

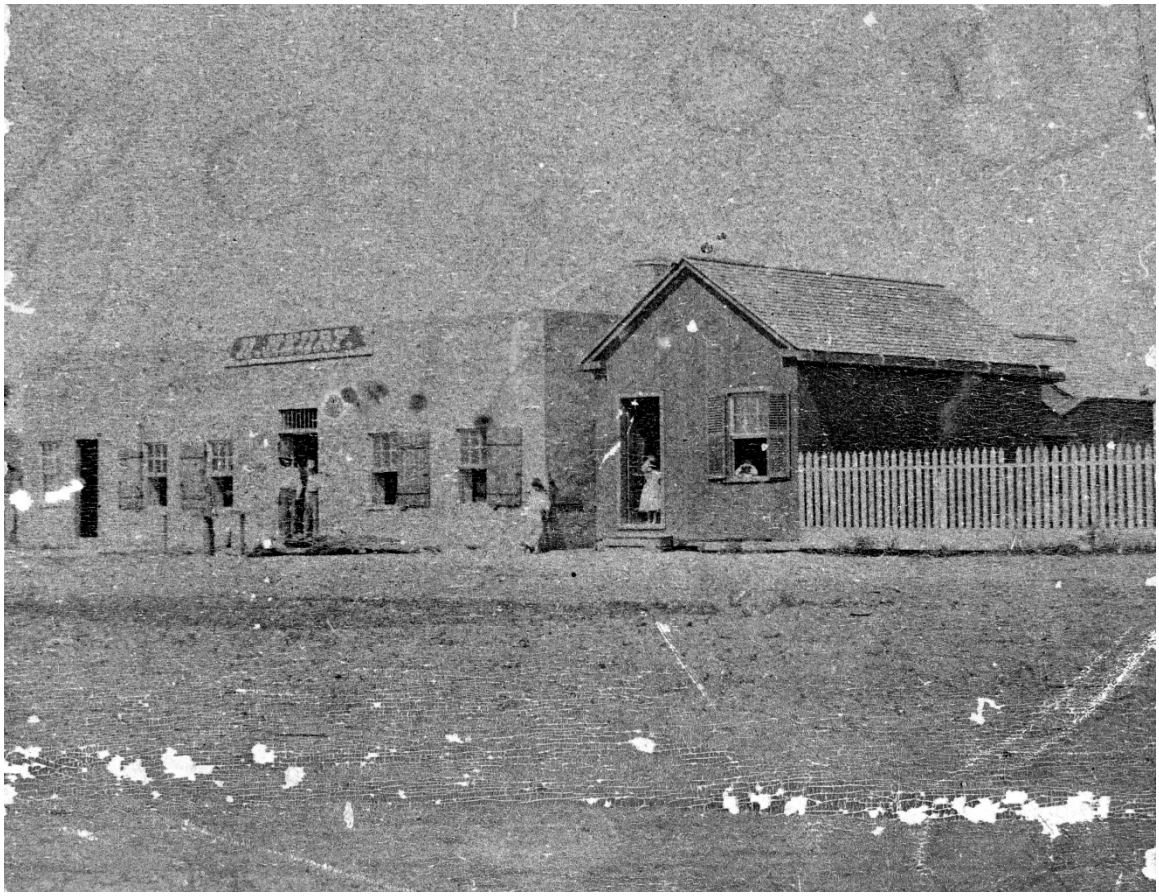


Figure 31 - Store and residence (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

This Louis De Planque photo shows a store and a house. The store has hitching posts in front, and iron bars above the door. The small house has a yard with an attached picket fence. There is a young woman at the door of the residence, and three men outside the store. The wide street, which is completely devoid of vegetation is prominent. Large amounts of traffic, including herds driven to market would have to constantly pass over these roads to keep the roads this way.

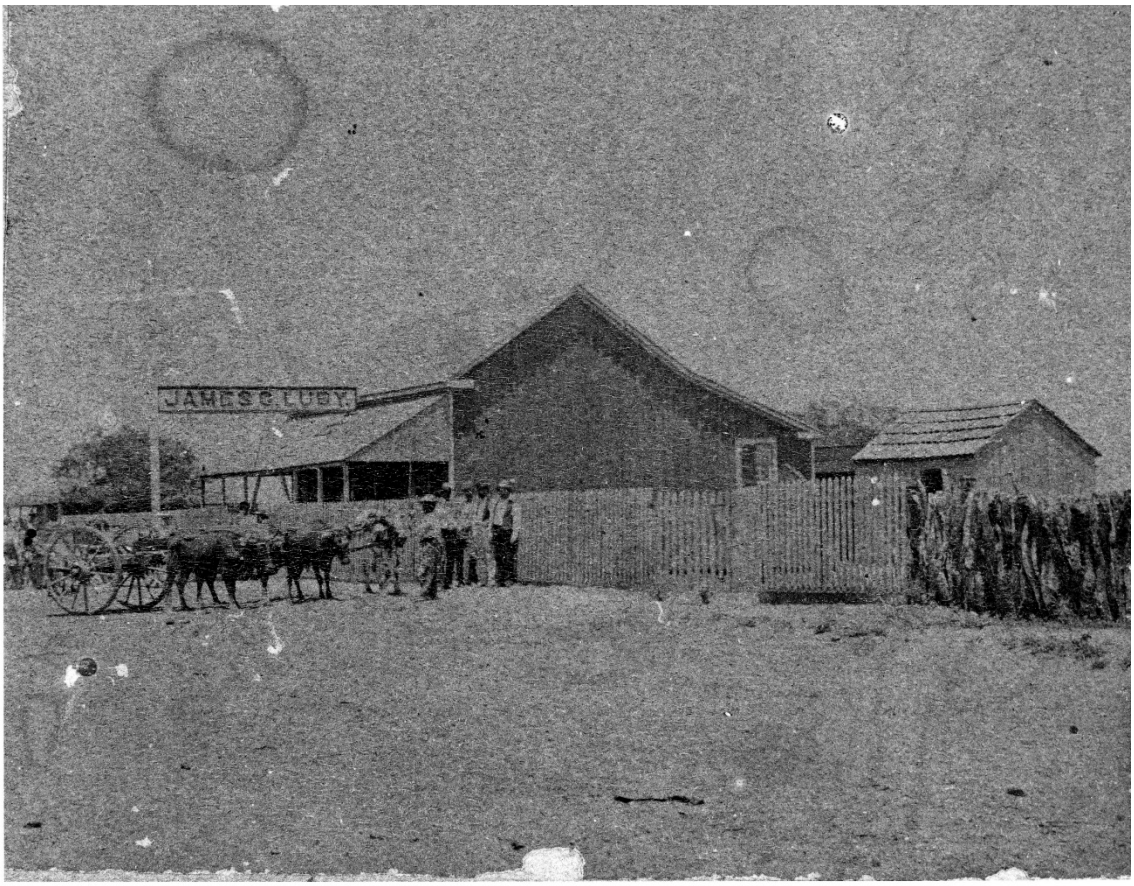


Figure 32 - Luby store (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

This Louis De Planque photo has a heavy ox pulled cart in the forefront, along with a donkey and five men. It shows one of the early Luby stores opened by Robstown native James Luby, who was a prosperous store owner and part of a family that included Texas rangers and sheriffs in other parts of South Texas. This yard also includes a picket fence and a composite brush fence that has other analogous fences visible in the panoramic picture of San Diego.

Figure 33 – Church (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

This Louis De Planque photo shows one of the early protestant churches in San Diego. Contrary to the article by Arreola that Depicts San Diego as a Catholic town, the city had several post-Civil War protestant and evangelical churches. The churches left after the discovery of the Plan de San Diego, but the city remained religiously diverse including Catholics, Protestants and Jehovah's witnesses from the turn of the century to present day. This church has a scaffold bell tower erected on what looks like a church in front, residence in back building. Also depicted are a man and his horse, the picket fence, and another example of brush or cedar post fencing.

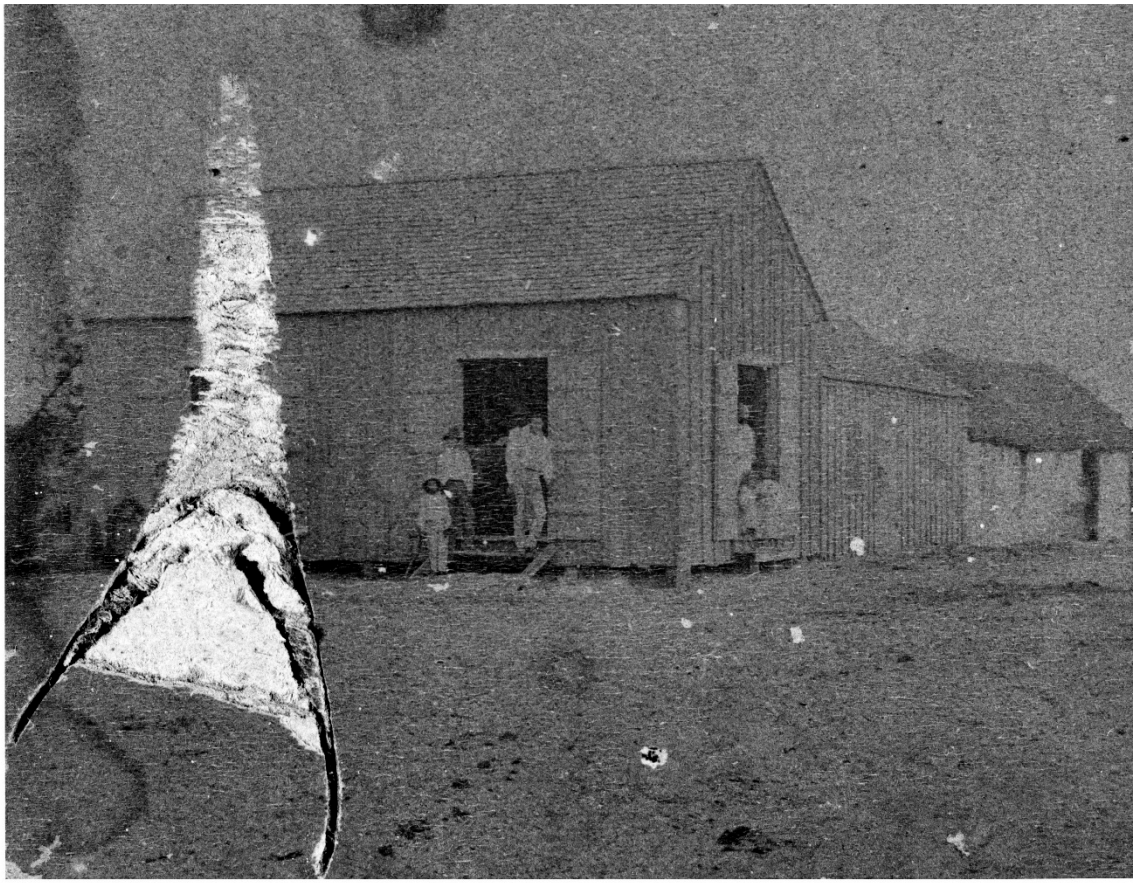


Figure 34 – Residences (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

In this Louis De Planque photo there are family groups and possible households. The Construction is either composite, or shows multiple structures close together. The rear has thatch roofs and adobe or *sillar* buildings, while the front is a wooden pier and beam or balloon frame home. This home has no visible porch, the people are standing on wooden stairs to two different entryways. Due to the damage on the print, some people are not visible, but the uniformly even and cleared street is in the foreground.

Figure 35 - San Diego Hotel (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

This Louis De Planque photo shows one of the hotels in San Diego, the town also had numerous boarding houses. Hotels and boarding houses have been considered corporate households by many archaeologists. The hotel has a gabled attic, and the construction is either composite, with a *sillar* first floor or wooden second, or the first floor is brick that appears smooth as opposed to the wooden siding. The Hotel sign, ornate fence and porch, and multiple fireplaces shows translation of United States Victorian architectural styles superimposed on typical Northern Mexican *sillar* construction.

Figure 36 – House (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

In this Louis De Planque photo shows one of the earliest house styles in San Diego, the *sillar* first floor and wooden second story. This house is possibly the one owned by the Smethwick's on the northeast corner of the Plaza Alcala. It is possibly a residence, or one of the numerous boarding houses. The fact that only men were photographed outside lends itself to the possibility that this was a boarding house. The men are wearing the same clothes depicted in all these photos by De Planque, but this horse is considerably shorter in stature, much like the ponies preferred by the vaqueros for cattle drives.

Figure 37 - House and Carriage (South Texas Museum Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Texas A& M University, Mary and Jeff Bell Library)

In this Louis De Planque photo there is a horse drawn carriage, two men on a simple front porch in front of a house with one chimney. The house is pier and beam construction, and ornamental or fruit trees seem to be planted in front of the residence. This picture shows the light colored shirts and hats that the other photos depict, describing what the people of San Diego were wearing at the turn of the century, especially that all the residents were wearing hats. These are the only trees shown in the De Planque photos except for the shrubs outside of town shown in the panoramic shot.

GARCÍA HOUSE PHOTOS

> Matías García, comerciante de reportación, bien educado, inteligente y caballeroso, que nos favoreció con sus atenciones. Conocimos el señor a su hermano, no menos apercíbele, y al inteligente y activo Administrador de los correos (Correo de Laredo, July 18, 1891)

This was the anecdote published by a Laredo newspaper reporter about the Garcías. The following photos show details about their lives, appearances and clothing. The attic archive reveals that they corresponded with people in the United States and Mexico, receiving and sending letters, photos and cards. Many of the articles of clothing are represented in the attic inventory, others are shown in Crimm and Massey's historic photo book as part of the local photographer's studio. This collection of photos are all relatives of the García family, and show in greater detail the clothing of the early 1900's. I specifically chose photos that were dated or stored in an early chronologically dated box, to try to illustrate what the residents of San Diego looked like, dressed like, and purchased during these years. Photos like these can be compared to contemporary Euro-American and African American clothing styles and choices. From the photos, it can be deduced that the residents of San Diego were wearing fashionable Western clothing, there were few ethnic markers of dress, similar to what Barbara Voss found in her article "Poor People in Silk Shirts" the ethnically Mexican residents of San Diego showed the ethnogenesis of Mexican Americans by asserting a shared style of dress. (Voss B. , 2008 b)While dress is part of choice, class and gender and an individual choice, it is also central to colonial ethnogenesis.

Many studies of identity transformation in the Spanish Americas either ignored clothing, or relegated clothing choices to individual agency. Voss showed that the artifacts and archives of El Presidio de San Francisco point to clothing having an important role in ethnic identity. Mission studies have pointed to similar transformations among Native

Americans, where clothing functioned as a colonial control constraining and marking Mission residents as colonial subjects (Voss B. , 2008 b). Dress is part of the ethnogenesis, the residents of San Diego had access to clothing and patterns from United States catalogs, and as displayed by the earliest photos, adopted western clothing. The choice of clothing is most apparent in the last photos, where the Vaqueros are wearing the typical Northern Mexican styles opposite the children wearing Victorian suits and Newsboy hats.

Candelario Sáenz pointed out in his talk that San Diego had a number of dandies, explaining that the residents had an unusual attention to fashion, as opposed to how San Diego is represented by Historians and museums, the early settlers had capital and access to high fashion. He hinted at the unusual wealth of San Diego Mexican Americans as part of their display of clothing on their social bodies. Affluence aside, as evidenced by the following photos and those printed by Crimm and Massey (Crimm, 2003) the residents of San Diego displayed ethnogenesis in their dress. Further exploration of the fashions of the era both in Mexico and the United States as well as cross-ethnic comparisons are needed to explore the connection between clothing and ethnic and national identity.

The following photographs are an undated collection of early photos found in the García house attic. The photos depict García relatives, friends and neighbors, most are undated, but they were found in an early deposit surrounding the 1911 photo, so they illustrate San Diego life at the time of the plan De San Diego. They also show a variety of aspects of dress and behavior associated with San Diego residents.

Figure 38 – Baby (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

This baby is wearing a gown, no reference to the gender or age of the child is made on the photo, but the attention to details of the child's appearance are obvious. From the hairstyle to the lace trim, this child is displaying markers of wealth and attention. Also of interest in this photo are the negative image of a woman with a distinct hairstyle that has leached onto the embossed frame. The early settlers of San Diego had access not only to imported clothing, capital and they also had a local photographer. Traveling photographers like De Palenque visited San Diego, but there were also local residents who set up photography studios at a very early time in the history of photography (Crimm, 2003).

Figure 39 - Seated children (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

This group setting has the name of the San Diego photographer embossed on the lower right hand corner of the frame. The children are dressed ornately, two wear matching dresses, and one has a doll with an elaborate dress and bonnet. The boy is wearing a suit with short pants and a tie, and all the children are wearing leather shoes. The carpets displayed on the chair do not seem to be masking the mother, as early tintype photographs of infants mothers often did. Subjects had to remain still for an few minutes due to the exposure times, often mothers held younger children but were covered, while this was common, I did not find any hidden mother photos in the attic archive or in photo records.

Figure 40 – Man (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

This man is wearing an elaborate bow tie, a three piece suit, and a close haircut and well-trimmed beard. Unlike in many early United States photographs, he appears to be almost smiling.

Figure 41 – Woman (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

This woman is wearing a high collared dress, earrings and a brooch. Her hair is pulled back, and there seems to be a double collar on her dress, as well as a row of shiny buttons.

Figure 42- Family Group (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

This family also displays dark clothing and jewelry. The children are wearing almost miniature versions of their parents clothing plus the newsboy hat on the boy on the left. The attention to dress and fashion is evident.

Figure 43 – Couple (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

This appears to be the same couple, at a different time. Note the large balloon sleeves on the woman's possibly organza dress. The man has a watch on a metal chain, and a different style of tie than the previous photo. This image appears to be taken in front of a painted backdrop, and could have been a wedding photo.

Figure 44 – Women (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

These two young women are wearing white, possibly signifying a school uniform or a ritual observance, or possibly to avoid summer heat. They both display hair ribbons, a luxury item, and one has a locket on a chain.

Figure 45 - Child in Wicker Baby Carriage (García House, 1911)

This photo was mailed to a friend, and depicts baby Eligio or Chalo García, this young man left a wealth of epistolary correspondences in the attic. He served in WWI, and courted and married a local San Diego woman, leaving behind a life of letters but no children. Chalo and Pinky also lived in Galveston before returning to the García house where he grew up And this photo most likely was taken. This stroller is ornate wicker and iron, but is not the same stroller depicted at the photographer's studio in the next shot.

Figure 46 - Child in ornate baby carriage (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

This photo appears to be taken at the same studio depicted in many of the pictures in Crimm and Massey's book. The child of unknown gender wears a white gown, and is propped up with embroidered silk cushions, showing affluence, trade and a culture that had capital to commemorate their children in expensive photographs.

Figure 47 - Young Woman (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

This photo is blurry, but is backed by a thick embossed paper, and depicts a young woman with loose wavy hair. The early photographs in the attic inventory depict both men and women almost equally showing that the images of both were important for the household.

Figure 48 - Little girl (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

This photo is taken at the García House, and shows a young girl with light hair in a dark dress, leather boots and stockings. She has a ribbon in her hair, and behind her you can see an ornate iron bed inside, as well as a round mirror on a dresser. The windows have shutters, and the porch appears to be painted.

Figure 49 - García House Hunter photos (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

This triptych shows both continuity in the dress of some of the people depicted and some important details of the work or casual hunting clothing. The first photo possible shows the man depicted above, in a dark suit and hat, in what is possibly the first Duval county picture with a young man's first buck. The deer is at least a twelve pointer, and it is hung, not at a ranch but in a yard with a picket fence and gate. The deer not only shows hunting as a cultural practice, but is a marked local food source favored by residents who had cattle and sheep to choose from but chose venison.

The second photo depicts a canvas tent, six men, at least four rifles, and six dead *javalinas*. Peccaries or *javalinas* have a strong taste, and are a local favorite food, also showing marked food choice that would not appear in store inventories or shipping manifests. The men's dress ranges from vaquero with tall laced up boots over loose cotton pants, to possible military uniforms. All the men wear different hat styles, and in the foreground there is a large earthen jug typically used to carry liquor.

The third photo depicts two men with a deer and two *javalinas.* This picture shows that both animals were hunted for consumption, and this photo has a deer with fewer antlers, further indicating that the hunting was for food, not sport, as the smaller tined deer are not taken as trophies. This picture depicts the densest brush, possibly indicating that the hunting took place north or west of San Diego, as the coastal plains to the east have less brush. There is currently a culture of hunting in San Diego, and similar photos are taken of the animals they take, there is also a history of generations of land stewardship and cattle ranching alongside hunting for food in Duval County.

Figure 50 - García House Hunter photos 2 (García House, late 1800's – early 1900's)

These six photos document at least three other hunts as well as another angle of the first *javalina* hunt depicted. The second from left on the top row also shows a hunting dog, common in the area and used by vaqueros and ranchers to protect herds and track game. Traditionally, *javalinas* and deer are made into tamales in the cold winter months. Both *javalinas* and deer are still plentiful today, though the advent of higher fences is changing the habitat immensely.

CHAPTER 7: *MEDIA*

The research for this dissertation utilized databases of digitally stored microfiche records of several national newspapers in the English and Spanish languages. These newspapers are public domain despite different online databases attempting to copyright the data, they were published before 1923 and had no original copyright and were widely circulated (Hirtle, 2013). To support the archival basis of this papers positions regarding the effects of media coverage on Mexican American residents of San Diego and the surrounding area, I reviewed data to examine how newspaper reporting regarding San Diego, Texas and events that have been associated or related to El Plan de San Diego may have been perceived, reported or received by others in the United States of America. Social change manifests itself in varying forms, including expressive culture, clandestine actions, and ethnogenesis, but historians generally only have access to these changes through the language of media and government reports along with census data. In researching archival media existing sources, I have also tried to be sensitive to the writing and terminology of the times. The impact that this news reporting may have on the Mexican American residents of the United States and of San Diego includes changing views on race and implementation of new immigration laws.

John Hartigan Jr. sees race in media as not “an irreducible component of collective identities and social structures" as Omi and Winant see it (Hartigan J. , 2010; Omi, 1994) In these media sources: “Rather, race it is one dimension of the underlying cultural

dynamics that shape Americans' everyday lives and intense interest in media stories" (Hartigan J. , 2010). Similar to the approach that Praetzellis, Praetzellis, Van Buren and Clark took, I attempted to piece together historical, media and archaeological data to achieve a combination of material and media coverage about San Diego. This review of the media coverage is also patterned after the approach Mary Ting Lui took in *The Chinatown Trunk Mystery: Murder, Miscegenation, and Other Dangerous Encounters in Turn-of-the-Century New York City* where she traced a well-covered murder of an Anglo woman and the hunt for the accused Asian man, and how that media representation shaped perceptions of Asians (Lui, 2005). The Plan de San Diego's media coverage similarly reaffirmed and shaped popular views on race, class, gender and sexuality of Mexican Americans. The coverage of the Plan drew negative public attention that reified existing racial relationships and changed the way Mexican Americans were perceived, though the murdered men were Mexican and the murderers were Anglo, it was the Mexicans that were presented as violent. The fear of Mexican Americans that was spread to remote areas about the 'othered' Mexican Americans was based on the media coverage in many places where there were not large Mexican America populations. Locally, the media coverage was used to justify further segregation and other forms of legal subjugation of Mexican Americans, including County meetings to expel all Mexican residents of some Texas counties (Montejano, 1982).

This newspaper coverage utilized does not purport to be exhaustively complete review, but rather highlights the local and interstate Associated Press coverage and shows how widespread the inclusion of these stories about San Diego was in multiple major cities

and multiple State's newspapers. The small town of San Diego made widespread Front Page headlines across the United States in a number of occasions during the early 1900's. These stories were published in various newspapers across the United States and in many Spanish language papers in México and the United States.

The sampling taken for this dissertation established a pattern from which the following conclusions and observations can be made: Prior to 1912, newspaper reports regarding San Diego indicate the development of an evolving integration of Mexican American and Anglo American residents, with elements of distinctiveness some signs of serious tensions. Newspaper reporting of the 1912 murders circulated only in the San Diego area show evidence of serious tensions between the two cultures after the triple homicide. Further news coverage of the murder trials waned, and the murder of the D.A. who wanted the murderers convicted was covered by the media, but not connected to the triple homicide by reporters. The initial newspaper reporting regarding the discovery of the Plan de San Diego was limited in 1914. The newspaper reporting of events would later be called the Bandit Wars indicates the tension along the Río Grande Border as a result of the Mexican Revolution and disputed land claims during this time. August and December interstate newspaper reports of the "Bandit Wars" spread the tensions of the 1915 "Border Wars" past Texas, even as the Mexican Revolution was winding down, to the front pages of multiple newspapers in the United States. Spanish Language papers reported that the Plan de San Diego was a political reform movement applicable to up to 70% of Texas population, and also covered the lynching and murders of Mexican American citizens by Texas Rangers more prominently than the English Language papers. The newspaper

coverage of late 1919 and 1920 regarding the Congressional Hearings concerning the border and the Plan de San Diego revived the pattern of news coverage of post August 1915 in both English and Spanish papers, despite the committee hearings being private.

Daniel R. Headrick puts forth the proposition that in times of peace, the media, in this case the telegraph and radio are essentially used as tools and instruments of peace. However, in times of war and tension, they became instruments of politics, tools for rival interests, and weapons of war (Headrick, 1991). Coverage of the events regarding San Diego and the Plan found on Basilio Ramos, and all the Mexican border coverage may be viewed from this prospective of the media as tools of the State and the existing racial hierarchy. Up to 1912 both local and interstate news coverage of events in San Diego present indications of the development of a small town of bi-cultural and bi-ethnic populations with no major indication of stress, tension or violence between the two cultures, reinforcing Ruth Griffin Spence' primary account of relative peace and cooperation between Anglos and Mexican Americans (Spence, 1986). The newspaper accounts present a picture that of innocence and pastoral and sometimes almost humorous co-existence of the populations in south Texas. The reports also show that, at least in the newspaper reporters' minds, there was no distinction between a Mexican Citizen and a Mexican American United States resident.

Even as the post 1915 news report will show, newspapers reporters were not making any distinction between a Mexican citizen and an American citizen of Mexican descent. It appears that newspaper reporting was either intentionally or not, blurring or eliminating distinctions between these identities when dealing with Texas residents. Thus,

at least for the news reporters of the turn of the century America, it appears that an American of Mexican descent was raced as a Mexican national, or othered despite their citizenship. The newspaper reports prior to 1912 show only small evidence of tensions, and many marriages (some the source of tension) between the Mexicans of San Diego and the Anglo Americans of San Diego.

Media coverage of turn of the century events in Europe which eventually that would be eventually is labeled World War I and the violent and bloody insurrection in México and subsequent newspaper and radio coverage of these events were rapidly changing the American psyche. News coverage of these events led to a pervasive fear of being drawn into war and bloody revolutions, leading President Wilson's creation of the Committee on Public Information under the direction of a journalist named George Creel to promote the war in media and advertisement as well as the orators called four minute men who gave speeches promoting the United States involvement (Benson, 2012). The prime metaphor for this American Era may well be demonstrated by government media propaganda. The tension and fear of the nation under an analysis as put forth by Headrick in *The Invisible Weapon*, media coverage takes a life of its own and manifests and perpetuates itself in the newspapers and media of the majority culture. The evolution of the portrayal of the image of the Mexican American and the equation in the American eye that "a Mexican is a Mexican" despite citizenship during this era by the newspapers shows an evolution from a time of peace to a time of tension, but then appears to have taken a life of its own.

National News stories prior to 1900

The interstate new stories mentioning San Diego that attracted the most press in periodicals prior to 1900 included coverage of rainmaking and killer bugs. During November of 1891, there were many newspaper articles about a rainmaking experiment in the San Diego vicinity. January 1892 there was coverage mentioning San Diego as related to the Catarino Garza rebellion. In November and December 1895 there is multiple state coverage of the San Diego *cucurazza* story. San Diego Pharmacists Wright and Hannelly were quoted in a large national campaign for Ayers Pills through the 1890's.

The 1891 news coverage related to a rainmaking experiment that was conducted at a location identified by some of the articles as Camp Edward outside of San Diego. The news coverage relating to this event was in most newspapers reviewed only a few sentences long and not carried as a headline or front page item, but apparently Ranchers and Calvary soldiers borrowed a cannon from the king ranch and shot at the sky, because it had often rained over Civil War battlefields, they thought the cannons had hastened the rain. Some articles reported a success but most reported it as a failure, others reported that rain had fallen but due to a northern that had blown in. One paper from Waterloo Iowa, crediting a Chicago wire reported that San Diego residents regarded the whole thing as fake, according to any reputable citizen of San Diego, Texas (Waterloo Daily Courier September 1891). Others were more hopeful: "The rainmakers at San Diego, Texas, have scored another point in favor of the practicability of their theory that rain can be artificially produce" (The News and Observer, Raleigh, NC Tuesday, October 20, 1891). Some articles indicated that

government funds were utilized and some state that local ranchers funded the experiment, but most of the articles related to the experiment as a failure. Although not reported in any of these newspaper articles, the Texas State Historical Society reports that Gen. Robert St. George Dyrenforth used explosive balloons and artillery in a series of experiments sponsored by Congress and the Department of Agriculture during this time (TSHA, 2013).

The cucurazza stories of late 1895 appears to have been picked up by a greater number of newspapers throughout the country and received considerable more page length than the rainmaking stories (San Antonio Daily Light, 12-13- 1895, Galveston Daily News 11-28-1895, The Ohio Democrat Dec. 26, 1895, Stevenspoint Journal Wisconsin, December 7, 1895, The Portsmouth Times, Ohio November 30, 1895, Decatur Democrat Press December 12, 1895). These reports entered around on one Dr. Swartz who was in San Diego, Texas investing fantastic reports from the area of a deadly insect whose bite was incurable and was a matter of great fear to area residents. The front page news story said the residents called this insect "cucurazza". Dr. Swartz challenged residents to capture one of the insects and awed a crowd of locals by removing from its box and holding it in his bare hand, while the crowd gasped in amazement. The newspapers reported it to be a common species of ground beetle. While this can be taken as modern science debunking local superstition, it also reveals local traditions and possible ties to indigenous beliefs. The Countess di Brazzà describes the "*cucaraza*" in her 1897 fictional book based on ethnographic study of the Pima Indians:

> The *Pasimachus depressus* is a large shining black ground- beetle with a big head and powerful jaws, which is found on the ground under the dead leaves of the mesquite bushes. It is an extremely useful destroyer of cut-worms and other

> insects; but the Mexicans, who call it Cucaraza, are very much afraid of it, because they believe that its bite is fatal and very poisonous. It is in reality perfectly harmless, although its strong jaws enable it to pinch quite sharply in self-defense when handled, and is excessively timid, never attacking any creatures save the insects which form its food" (Brazzà, 1897).

It is also possible the Countess di Brazzà read the widespread reports of this story and incorporated it into her fictional yet ethnography based novel, written after her travels in northern México. In the research done for the main paper of this thesis, no one interviewed in San Diego in the pursuit for oral histories had ever heard of any insect named cucurazza or cucaraza. However, the word cucaracha is a commonly used term for a cockroach. If the reporter of Dr. Swartz's boldness misinterpreted these words or misprinted them, perhaps the object of the humor of these articles is reversed, and the beetle was known to be a harmless roach, and Dr. Schwartz, not the residents of San Diego, was the butt of the joke.

Texas News Stories prior to 1900

In Texas, regional English language newspapers included coverage of a variety of San Diego events, demonstrating a similar pattern of inclusion of normal events in small towns by local papers. The sampling for this paper reviewed several articles from the Galveston Daily Times that provide some indication of economic and social landscape including the interaction of the Mexican American and Anglo American residents of San Diego. Galveston was the largest city in Texas during this period, prior to the Hurricane

of 1900. These pre-1900 accounts were without major headlines and include reports on daily life, accompanied by other small towns' news:

> The letter of instruction by the superintendent to the County superintendents, relating to the exclusive use of the English language In the public schools and concerning sectarian schools being taught, and stating his Intention of canceling the certificates of teachers who teach in any other language, and demanding the County superintendents to withhold approval of vouchers of teachers who teach sectarian schools, is causing some talk here. While it is rumored that the Mexican language is taught in one-half of the Duval County schools and that one half of the School trustees in the County cannot speak English yet, News correspondent is reliably informed that the schools arc all taught in English and that religion has nothing to do with the schools in the County. (Galveston Daily News, October 8, 1894)
>
> A Mexican, Mariano Salinas was bound over to the grand jury for fence cutting gave bond yesterday and was released from jail (Galveston Daily News Tex September 10, 1924)
>
> A Mexican by the name of Eligio Rodriquez, was killed late last night near the depot and the inquest held by Judge Mount showed the following facts: The boy's uncle drives a cart and when the, boy tempted to jump upon the cart the mule started to run and the boy fell under the cart, a wheel of which run over stomach causing death before a doctor could be summoned to give him relief. It was merely an accident and the judgment of the court so stated. (Galveston Daily News, September10, 1924)
>
> The County court, which has been in session all week, adjourned yesterday. The County commissioners' court convening tomorrow, and will appoint a commissioner for San Diego precinct. No. 1. Vice G D García, removed to México and a justice of the peace, precinct No. 2, vice Thomas Romano, resigned. Both cotton gins have been running here and cotton is coming in lively. Local County politics is becoming lively, there being two tickets already in the field. (Galveston Daily News, August 11, 1896)
>
> Tex., Nov. 7. 1904-The following were elected; Criminal District Attorney-John I. Kubrick County Judge-S H Woods. County Attorney-John L. George. District Clerk-Pedro Eznal. County Clerk-Pedro Eznal. Sheriff-Manuel Rogers. Tax Collector-Manuel Rogers. Tax Assessor- John D. Cleary. County Treasurer-Julian Palacios. County Surveyor- John J. Dix San Diego. Tex., (Galveston Daily News April 18, 1904)

Between 1900 and 1915, there is little or no newspaper coverage nationally regarding San Diego. Local and regional coverage of San Diego up to 1912 generally followed the patterns of reporting shown above, including life events such as marriage and death announcements as well as land and items for sale. The news stories at the turn of the century show Mexican Americans maintaining traditional cultural fiestas, and engaging actively in local politics and achieving some significance of economic success. The news stories after 1912 indicate some degree of distinction between the two groups but up to 1912 the English printed newspaper stories show no sign of extreme racial or ethnic tension or violence between Mexican Americans and Anglos, painting instead a portrait of a multi-ethnic and prosperous town. The reporters do not make any distinctions in the articles differentiating the Mexican American citizens of San Diego from Mexican National citizens, but refer only to "Mexicans".

OIL FOUND IN DUVAL COUNTY

> A large number of citizens of Duval County met at the office of James O. Luby on Friday night and organized a company for the purpose of drilling for oil in the Piedras Pintas Valley. J. L. Cleary was elected president; C. K. Gravis, secretary, and T. J. Lawson, treasurer. In addition to the above mentioned, the following were chosen as a board of directors: Jose Valleo, Frank Barton, and S. H. Peters. Pedro Eznal and Charles Hoffman and others (Galveston Daily News May, 1904)

Oilfield Development. San Diego, Duval Co., Tex., Aug. 25.—The oil wells here are attracting considerable attention from eastern parties. Mr. Dudley of San Antonio Is

here In the Interest of some friends from the oil districts, and has obtained samples and forwarded same for analysis. In dry times when, the water was needed for stock purposes It had to be drawn and emptied Into troughs, the oil skimmed off and the, water allowed to stand for a day or so before the water could be used. The Mexicans on the ranch have been known to burn the oil thus skimmed in their lamps. It is found in a rock formation of a bluish gray in color, very hard and slightly porous, and gives out an odor the same as that exuded from the refined lubricating oil. Near the wells is a large sulphur spring. A bar of iron has been run down for several feet and withdrawn, a match applied to the place, and the gas and oil would ignite and burn for several minutes. Mr. Dudley is now waiting to hear from his friends and will possibly make satisfactory arrangements with the owners of the oil to put in a plant and develop these (The Daily Express, August 25, 1905)

The oil discovery, or rediscovery as the oil had been used by Native Americans and Civil War soldiers before it was commercially exploited, brought investors, wildcatters and money to Duval County. While oil was selling at 3$ a barrel, the county saw another wave of economic prosperity, along with an influx of new Anglo prospectors and oilfield workers. Note that the District Clerk Pedro Eznal was elected to the board of the first oil discovery in Texas, at the Piedras Pintas ranch, while he was not the only ethnically Mexican person on the board, Jose Vallejo was also Mexican, he was one of the few Mexican Americans to profit from the early oil discoveries, but his place on this board may have cost him his life.

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE 1912 MURDERS

A defining event to the history of San Diego, however occurred in the spring of 1912 and presented a dramatic change in the previous almost idyllic and pastoral pattern of news coverage. On May 18, 1912 three Mexican American County leaders were gunned down in the Duval County Courthouse. The event seems to have received minor attention in Texas newspapers, but all the printed accounts indicated that there was tension in the San Diego area after the murders. The newspaper in the adjacent town of Alice, ran the story under the headline "Tragedy in San Diego" and printed, "A most deplorable state of political affairs have[sic] existed in San Diego for some time and reached a climax Saturday morning when in a pistol duel, participated in by several adherents of each side of the two opposing parties, three men were killed" (Alice Echo, May 22, 1912). The Amarillo Daily News printed the story under the headline

> THREE KILLED IN GUN FIGHT-Desperate Pistol Duel Causes Excitement at San Diego, Texas--TENSE FEELING PREVAIL AND RANGERS FROM ALICE WERE DISPATCHED TO SCENE-In a pistol duel at 9 o'clock this morning at San Diego station on the Texas-Mexican Railway, sixty miles west of Corpus Christi, three men were shot an distantly killed. Three are under arrest. The following were killed: PEDRO EZNAL, County and district clerk of Duval County, ANTONIO ANGIANO, deputy sheriff, CANDELARIO SÁENZ. All are Mexicans. Three white men under arrest are: Dr. Roberts, Frank Robinson and Charley Gravis, the latter a Duval County ranchman living in San Diego (Amarillo Daily News, May 1912)

"Three Men Killed in San Diego Fight" was the Dallas Morning News headline on May 19, 1912. "Murder Charge Made - Triple Killing at San Diego Followed by Three

Warrants Being Sworn Out' was the Fort Worth Star-Telegram headline on May 21, 1912, and the article mentioned the men were scheduled to have a preliminary trial in San Diego.

A Spanish Language newspaper in Nuevo Laredo, *La Democrata Fronterizo* printed:

> *El Sábado pasado ocurrió en San Diego una tragedia política verdaderamente sensacional, pues resulta son muertos los Sres. Pedro Eznal, Secretario del Condado, Candelario Sáenz y Antonio Anguiano. Con motivo de una elección para ver si el pueblo quería que San Diego se incorporase como Ciudad, ocurrió una desavenencia en la casilla situada en la casa de Corte, entre un americano y el Sr. Eznal; tomaron parte otros americanos, y resultaron muertos los Sres. Eznal, Sáenz y Anguiano, sin qué se averiguara quién los mató, Tres fueron aprehendidos y conducidos a Corpus, por temor de un americano conflicto, pues el pueblo está muy excitado (La Democrata Fronterizo May 23, 1912)*

El Regidor out of San Antonio published "*Tres Mexicanos Muertos en San Diego, Texas*" On May 23, 1912, noting the widows and families left behind by Eznal and Sáenz and:

> *La mañana del sábado el 18 de Mayo, actual a los ocho. Hubo una riña de tiros en la mesa electoral instalada en San Diego, Texas para poner a votación la incorporación la municipalidad*… (El Regidor, May 23, 1912)

The Laredo Weekly Times of May 18, 1912 carried the headline "THREE KILLED IN SAN DIEGO COUNTY CLERK EZNAL, DEPUTY SHERIFF SÁENZ AND CONSTABLE ANGUIANO VICTIMS. EXCITEMENT IS HIGH-MEN BECAME ENGAGED IN A QUARREL WITH FRANK ROBINSON AND SHOOTING DONE BY CHAS GRAVIS AND DR. ROBERTS" (Laredo Weekly Times, May 18 1912). Three of the accused murderers were arrested, then moved to Corpus, and finally east Texas. Newspapers ran coverage of their change of venue in Texas: "Murder Cases to be Changed Again Difficulty in Securing Witnesses from Río Grande Country" ran on September 29

1912 in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram noting that Judge George Calhoun of the Fifty-third District Court, Austin transferred the case (Fort Worth Star-Telegram, September 29, 1912). On June 10, 1912 the Abilene Newspaper headlines were "RANGERS TO PRESERVE PEACE - During Investigation Into Death of Clerk and Two Others at San Diego, Texas" and reporting that "Capt. Fox and four Rangers are here to preserve peace between Mexicans and Americans during the grand jury investigation, which begins today in this city" (Abilene Reporter-News, June 10, 1912).

All of the newspaper reports of the 1912 shootings indicate racial tensions and strife in San Diego, and suggest anticipation of further tensions and problems. The *Democrata Fronterizo* expresses a fear of future conflict with Euro-Americans as the reason for moving the Defendants to Corpus Christi, and the Abilene paper indicates the Texas Rangers were called in due to a fear of conflict between the Mexicans and Euro-Americans. The collective memory of many current San Diego residents, passed down by oral history, including that of some of the descendants of the slain citizens, is that the motivation behind the murders was not racism, but as some of the newspaper's report, but politics or personal reprisal as well as a culture of dueling after offenses. Some of the people who signed the personal bonds supporting the murderers, including Walter Meek, were known to have racist and anti-Mexican positions. The fact remains that the area news reports indicate or anticipate racial repercussion from the incident, and allude to previous tensions.

After the three murderers were arrested, a large scale poisoning occurred in Duval County, at the courthouse, killing the County Attorney Díaz who was pushing for prosecution of Roberts, Robinson and Gravis. Three others also died and the mass

poisoning sickened many more: “Arsenic in Water State Chemists Disclose Poison Which Caused Death” was run in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram on July 23rd 1912. The Regidor, out of San Antonio, ran headlines on July 18, 1912: “*Muera otras victimas en San Diego*”, and the article stated that the mass poisoning investigation had found that an unknown individual had purchased 6 pounds of arsenic at a local pharmacy, but was still at large (EL REGIDOR, July18, 1912). This mass murder was not connected to the pending murder charges against Gravis, Roberts and Robinson, but it killed the attorney pushing for their conviction. This was not the first mysterious death by arsenic poisoning in Duval. On February 14, 1889 a visitor was poisoned making headlines as Far away as New York City:

> A WEALTHY SPANIARD POISONED -James E.W. Herrera, a wealthy Spaniard, who came here recently from Northern Texas, died last night from the effects of poison administered by unknown parties. Sufficient evidence has been obtained to show that he did not commit suicide. The authorities are investigating the murder (New York Times Feburary15, 1889)

No other authors have connected the mass arsenic murder with the trials of Gravis, Roberts and Robertson, and while some arsenic is naturally occurring in San Diego well water, this amount was not common. If a local pharmacy had sold 6 pounds of arsenic close to the date of the mass poisoning, directly after the arrests of the three murderers, it is possible that this was a retaliatory killing. The news reports state that a coroner inquest was conducted, and noted that chickens and a dog that were made to drink from the contaminated barrel at the courthouse died instantly. Due to record keeping laws, the evidence has not been preserved, just like the trail records of the acquittal of the triple homicides have been destroyed. These murders temporally correspond with the triple homicide and coincidentally kill the man who pushed for a conviction for Gravis, Roberts and Robinson. This other, less covered triple homicide remains unexplored and at the very

least should be noted as contemporaneous deaths of mysterious nature in San Diego, suspiciously close in time to the famous triple homicide.

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE PLAN DE SAN DIEGO

On February 2, 1915 an AP wire story went out regarding Basilio Ramos and his arrest. Harris and Sadler report: "that this story created a sensation on the border press with newspaper accounts obviously focused on the scheduled date of the uprising (February 20) and the proposed massacre of Anglo males" (Harris C. H., 2013, p. 216). The research for this paper was able to determine that the Associated Press wire was picked up by at least six interstate newspapers, each with reports of the proposed massacre. However, at the time of AP release, my research attempts to duplicate Harris and Sadler's findings discovered that Texas English language press coverage did not appear to have focused much attention at all to the emergence of the Plan, but did cover the triple homicide. Sensation in the border press, is a strong term, it seems the coverage of Basilio's arrest followed the business as usual coverage on the border. Only the Brownsville Herald reporting on February 12 and 20 contained news reports concerning the arrest of Ramos, neither of which had much detail of the Plan or the contents of the Plan.

The first article contained meager information other than that Ramos had been arrested for conspiracy. The second article revolved around the arrest of one Manuel Flores of San Diego, and did report that the plan called for a conspiracy of "Mexicans and Negros" and did report that Flores was distributing circulars urging the murder of all white male

Americans (Brownsville Herald, February 20, 1915). The Corpus Christi Caller and Daily Herald also printed a story with the Headline “VALLEY RESIDENTS NOT ALARMED OVER THE THREATENED REVOLUTION—PLAN OF SAN DIEGO TO EXTERMINATE AMERICANS IN SOUTH TEXAS FAILED TO FRIGHTEN VALLEY RESIDENTS” (Corpus Christi Caller and Daily Herald February 27, 1915)

The newspaper in Corpus Christi, which lies 60 miles to the east of San Diego and served as the major seaport for the area also printed:

> Refugees reaching here today from San Diego, Duval County, Texas, and birthplace of the "plan of San Diego" for a revolution in South Texas, said today that ranchers in that vicinity were sending their families here for safety. They said only thirteen American men remained in San Diego (Corpus Christi Caller, Aug. 23 1915)

“Send Families from Texas Border” reprinted the same article in the New York Times on August 24 1915 with a different headline, changing the spin on the coverage considerably. Ruth Griffin Spence gives a firsthand Anglo account of living in the Valley during the Plan de San Diego Scare:

> In the midst of these troubled times rumors were widely circulated about the Plan of San Diego. The story was so incredible that most Valley residents regarded it as a joke. There were, however misgivings over the growing German influence in Mexico and over the unexplained conduct of many Mexican Americans with whom the Anglos had lived in harmony for years. In January 1915, Tom Mayfield still deputy sheriff of Hidalgo County, arrested a Mexican national Basilio Ramos Jr. in McAllen. He had in his possession a copy of the Plan of San Diego. It consisted of fifteen paragraphs and was signed by Mexicans from Monterrey and Nuevo Laredo. The leader was a former school teacher from San Diego, Texas, Augustin [sic] S. Garza.
>
> On February 20, 1915, according to the plan, the people of Mexican descent were to rise up, killing all the Anglos they could and declaring the independence from the United States of the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and California. An army was to be established consisting only of Hispanics, Blacks, and Japanese. Indians were to be encouraged to join the conspiracy. All white

males over sixteen were to be taken captive and held until all ransoms could be collected for them. Then they were to be shot.

After these five states were liberated, they were to form into an independent republic that would request annexation to Mexico. Then the next six adjoining states were to be freed and organized into a Black republic which would serve as a buffer state between Mexico and the United States.

C. H. Pease, a banker from Raymondville, attended a meeting held in Brownsville in October, called by the city's mayor. Over 200 citizens from all over the Valley attended. They were advised that there was little help from the state or federal government. The nearest help was in San Antonio. The people would have to defend their own homes. They were told to buy up the arms from local stores to prevent their falling into hands of the conspiracy leaders. Just how extensive and serious the plot was if it had not been discovered, Mr. Pease did not know, "But," he said, "that if it would have actually been attempted there seems to be little doubt." He continued: “I felt much concerned as I boarded the train that evening for Raymondville. On the train were squads of armed soldiers in each coach. After we pulled out of Harlingen and began to enter the heavily timbered country around Comer Station, the train slowed down. Looking out of the window I saw soldiers in the baggage car ahead with muzzles of their guns projecting from the open door ready for instant action. The train proceeded at a snail's pace. Cold chills ran up and down my spine.”

That night when I got home the first thing I heard was the story of another raid on a nearby ranch which had just been brought me. The next day some of us talked over the situation and discussed what we could do to defend ourselves. Raymondville and Lyford were comparatively isolated settlements. The farmers were but few and widely scattered. Hundreds of square miles of brush surrounded us on all sides, and this seemed to be the territory in which the marauding bands were operating. We decided to appeal to the commander of the troops at Fort Brown for military protection. Before we could do so, however, something else happened.

The next morning, Friday, soon after I had come down to the bank, the telephone rang. I stepped to the phone. The call was from one of our customers in Lyford giving the information that twelve Mexicans had just appeared at Sebastian, ten miles south of Raymondville, and held up a corn shelling outfit there. Scarcely had I turned from the phone when I noticed a crowd outside which had gathered about a car which had just driven up. The car was driven by a young man who happened to be at the corn sheller at the time of the raid. From him I heard the details of the affair and was stunned to learn that the leader of the gang was a young Mexican farmer to whom we had only a short time previously loaned $200 on his crop, ostensibly to enable him to harvest it. He was a man we regarded as a

> reputable, independent farmer. This piece of news seemed to confirm our worst fears. We were in the presence of a general uprising. Who now could we trust?
>
> Even while we talked I was called to the phone. Again I heard the voice of our Lyford customer. In tones that evidenced great agitation he gave me the startling information that later news had come from Sebastian. Mr. Austin and his son, both living in Sebastian, had been taken from their homes, led into the brush a few hundred yards away and shot down in cold blood, following which the raiders had disappeared into the brush, leaving the bodies of the victims on the ground.
>
> Although there was no concerted uprising, there were continuous raids resulting in death, from across the river. Many Valley citizens were panic stricken. Then both the state and the United States governments sent military men to the Valley, and by July 1, 1916, there were 110,957 troops stationed along the Río Grande from Brownsville to Río Grande City. The raids came to a halt by the end of 1916 (Spence, 1986).

Spence's take on the affair is the only first person written account other than journalistic coverage to survive. Her analysis and recollection of the speech Mr. Pease made reveal both the co-existence and tensions of border life. The armed population was both afraid of the Plan, and felt it was a joke. This duality has not made it into the mainstream coverage of the Plan de San Diego, but was echoed in the oral history according to San Diego Residents, who also feel it was written, not exactly as a joke, but in political satire during a particularly trying time. Spence's account was written as a memoir, but she remembered that the Plan had 15 paragraphs, meaning that the political speech of the Plan was not only noted by Anglo residents, but was memorable. Her wording, both refereeing to the Plan's "Black Republic" and that people she had regarded prior to the Plan as reputable and independent were swept up in the Plan allude to the deep racial divide that existed in the Valley at the time of the Plan, the panic of the isolated Anglo population there, as well as the relatively peaceful co-existence up until the Plan.

Some Texas Spanish Language papers did pick up the AP story, both in Texas and in the greater Southwest, and did devote some coverage to the irredentist Plan. This

coverage was not front page news, but was possibly covered due to the political leanings of the paper's publishers, who favored socialist and anarchist thought.

Newspaper coverage after the Plan was discovered

Unlike any prior event associated with the City of San Diego, after February of 1915 there is a flood of instate and interstate coverage of events that were related or would later be attributed to have been related to El Plan de San Diego. The news coverage may be broken down into four temporal categories:

1. Texas statewide newspaper coverage of matters prior to August 1915.
2. Interstate coverage of the Norias raid of August 1915.
3. Interstate coverage and events of December 1915
4. The Congressional Hearings in December of 1919 and January of 1920.

TEXAS STATEWIDE NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF MATTERS PRIOR TO AUGUST 1915.

Other incidents were occurring in Texas and México prior to August 1915 that though not directly related to San Diego or El Plan De San Diego, which are the attempted objects of this Chapter of this thesis, should be noted as having received massive interstate and instate Texas statewide newspaper coverage. Chiefly the 1914 Vergara killing and news coverage of Governor Colquitt. This paper cannot attempt to present all of these reports and media trends, however an excellent recap of 1914 daily events in both México

and Europe was published in the January 1, 1915 Galveston Daily News and gives insights to the world-wide tensions of this pivotal year (Galveston Daily News, January 1, 1915).

Interstate and Texas news coverage of one 1914 event and its political aftermath is integrally important to understanding the building tensions on the Texas/México border heightened by the Mexican Revolutionary situation. This was the murder of Clemente Vergara and the newspaper coverage that Governor O.B. Colquitt reaped in the aftermath of the Vergara murder. The United States press had been regularly printing news regarding the Mexican Revolution and the politics, personalities and political developments in México, however, the interstate news coverage of Texas Governor Colquitt's actions was the first major reporting regarding the Texas Government's actions, or at least the Texas governor's reaction. Colquitt's actions received massive interstate newspaper attention, one of the first times a Texas Governor took national spotlight with actions defying the United States.

Clemente Vergara was a South Texas rancher whose murder by Mexican troops in February 1914 outraged Texans and increased tension between México and the United States. Vergara was Mexican American United States citizen and resident of Laredo, Texas. His family operated a ranch on the Texas Río Grande river edge, in what is now Webb County, Texas. He had been pasturing his horses on an island in the Río Grande River, adjacent to his family's ranch, as was their custom. This land title was in dispute, and it is unclear whether it belonged to the United States or México at this time. After he found his horses missing, he suspected that the Mexican Federal Government troops had taken them, he went to the Webb County Sheriff Amador Sánchez. A meeting was arranged

between the Mexican Federal military commanders and the United States officials in Nuevo Laredo, México concerning the Vergara charge.

After his entry into México, Vergara was imprisoned and his beaten body was found hanging from a tree days later:

> "Vergara Shot Thrice, His Skull Crushed, and Hand Charred: SON IDENTIFIES BODY Meets Rangers After Their Early Morning Raid to Hidalgo Cemetery. MARCH 5 MILES FROM BORDER Easily Find Victim's Grave and Return to American Soil Unchallenged. ANXIETY IN WASHINGTON Just the Sort of Incident It Has Been Feared Would Provoke a Crisis. ONE LOOPHOLE SUGGESTED American Consul Had Received Permission to Move the Body, but Rangers Didn't Wait" (New York Times March 9, 1914)

Texas Governor O.B. Colquitt was quick to utilize the incident to challenge Washington to deliver more attention to the Texas México border. With his threat of using the Texas Rangers to enter México to recover the body and seek retribution, Colquitt's actions and the attention they received in many ways overshadowed the facts of the tragic death of Vergara. News stories covering Colquitt's threats to Washington to take international policy into his own hands and into the hands of his Texas State militia, the Texas Rangers in retribution for the death of an "American Citizen" spread throughout American cities in February and March of 1914.

Some of the interstate coverage that followed Colquitt's February 1914 antics are seen may be gleaned from the following headlines: "TEXAS GOVERNOR IN WARLIKE MOOD - Colquitt Threatens to Send Rangers into México to Get Lynchers of Vergara" (The Atlanta Constitution, February 27, 1914). "COLQUITT IS DEFIANT-SAYS

TEXAS WILL DEAL DIRECTLY WITH MÉXICO" (The Gettysburg Times, March 1914). And the Rangers did go into México:

> ARMED TEXAS RANGERS BOLDLY INVADE MEXICO AND BRING BACK MUTILATED BODY OF VERGARA: Charred Hand of American Rancher Evidence of Brutal Torture by Federal Troops. SHOT THREE TIMES, SKULL CRUSHED, AND THEN HANGED Under Cover of Darkness, With Carbines as Their Warrants, Texans Defy Mexicans and Ride to Cemetery at Hidalgo -- Execution Had Been Denied by Federals. United States Consul in Waiting to Receive Corpse. Gov. Colquitt Backs Ranger Captain, Declaring, "We Wanted the Body and We Have It." ARMED TEXAS RANGERS BOLDLY INVADE MEXICO (The Washington Post March 9, 1914)
>
> TEXANS INVADE MEXICO, RESCUE VERGARA'S BODY.: Quick Action of Gov. Colquitt's Rangers Startles the Border Country; In the Dead of Night Members of the State Force Ride Across the River, Piloted by Man Who Witnessed the Execution, and Open Grave in Hidalgo Cemetery. Victim Found to Have Been Tortured Before Death. Nerve of Texans Stirs the Border Texans Invade Mexico (Los Angeles March 9, 1914)
>
> WILSON DEFIED BY COLQUITT Texas Governor Insists on Right to Defend Border (New York Sun, March 11, 1914)
>
> WORRIED ABOUT TEXAS REWARD-COLQUITT'S OFFER OF REWARD MAY CAUSE KIDNAPPING OF VERGAZA'S SLAYERS COLQUITT IN RIGHT …. (Daily Ardmoreite, March 24, 1914)
>
> TEXANS CRY KILL THE GREASERS- MEXICANS WARNED TO KEEP OFF THE STREETS-AMERICANS DEATH THE CAUSE (Logansport Pharos Reporter March 9, 1914)
>
> PROUD OF THEIR DAREDEVIL RANGERS, TEXANS ARE SMILING OVER DENIALS OF MIDNIGHT DASH ACROSS BORDER: Armed, Booted, and Spurred, These "Hornets of the Plains" Did Their Work Swiftly and Surely, Leaving Diplomatic Explanations to Others (Washington Post Mar 10, 1914)
>
> TWO NEW REGIMENTS FOR TEXAS BORDER-Wilson Takes Measures to Head Off a "Jameson Raid- Brings Force up to 18000 (New York Times, March 12, 1914)
>
> SEND MORE TROOPS TO MEXICAN BORDER-17000 TROOPS WILL STOP RAIDS FROM TEXAS OR ROBBER BANDS FROM SOUTH–DÍAZ CALLED MURDERER (Racine Journal March 12, 1914)

Colquitt's widespread interstate coverage then triggered Congressional reaction that was also picked up by the national news media. One of the first to reap similar news coverage was Senator Fall of New Mexico, who was eager to support Colquitt's controversial position, this marked one of Senator Fall's earliest entries into the media's eye, but it would certainly not be his last.

The Galveston Daily News March 10, 1914 picked up an AP wire story and crowned it with the headlines:

> INTERVENTION WITH ARMS IN MÉXICO IS DEMANDED BY REPUBLICAN SENATOR-- New Mexico Senator Lifts Curtain of Secrecy Regarding Southern Republic—Urges Protection for Americans and Foreigners -- DEMOCRAT SAYS IT WOULD MEAN WAR--Acting Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee Defends Administration—Declares Peace Is What We Want—Sheppard Says Texans Do Not Favor Colquitt's Policy (Galveston Daily News, March 10, 1914)

The Galveston news story reported that Texas Senator Sheppard's declaration that: "the majority of the people of his state were in hearty accord with President Wilson in his Mexican policy and deplored the attitude of their governor" Galveston Daily News, March 10, 1914). Nonetheless, the Galveston story reported Fall's statements that: "Villa had for years been stealing cattle in México and shipping them into the United States" and Fall's numerous reports of "bandits" in México and the United States implicating such activity as support for American armed intervention into the Mexican civil conflict and Governor Colquitt's demands for action on the Vergara incident.

Colquitt's purported concern for the death of an "American Citizen" in February of 1914 is curious when viewed against the December 27, 1914 statements that he made in a widely circulated New York Times outgoing gubernatorial interview article were he blasts Woodrow Wilsons administration and landing in Vera Cruz as a failure "that set all México aflame against the Americans, not only in México but in Texas, where all along the bank of the Río Grande there are ten Mexicans for one American" (New York Times, December 27, 1914). From his February 1914 concern for American residents in South Texas to his December outgoing gubernatorial bombast of the Wilson administration, Colquitt's perceptions of South Texas demographics had rapidly narrowed from his earlier, perhaps more expedient distinction of who was American and who was Mexican.

Colquitt's December 1914 outgoing interview also reported his statements "that Mexican bandit gangs were crossing the border into Texas raiding and terrorizing our scattered people. Women and children were huddled together in brick houses menaced with murder and worse. My desk has been flooded Chamber of Commerce bankers and stockmen praying for protection all along our 1200 miles of frontier..." (New York Times, December 27, 1914). Prior to the February 1914 coverage of Colquitt's demands to Washington and Senator Falls' widely publicized support in March, there appears to be little or no news coverage in state Texas or Interstate directly connecting "bandit" activity in the United States to the Mexican Revolution. One alternate story about Vergara purported he still lived:

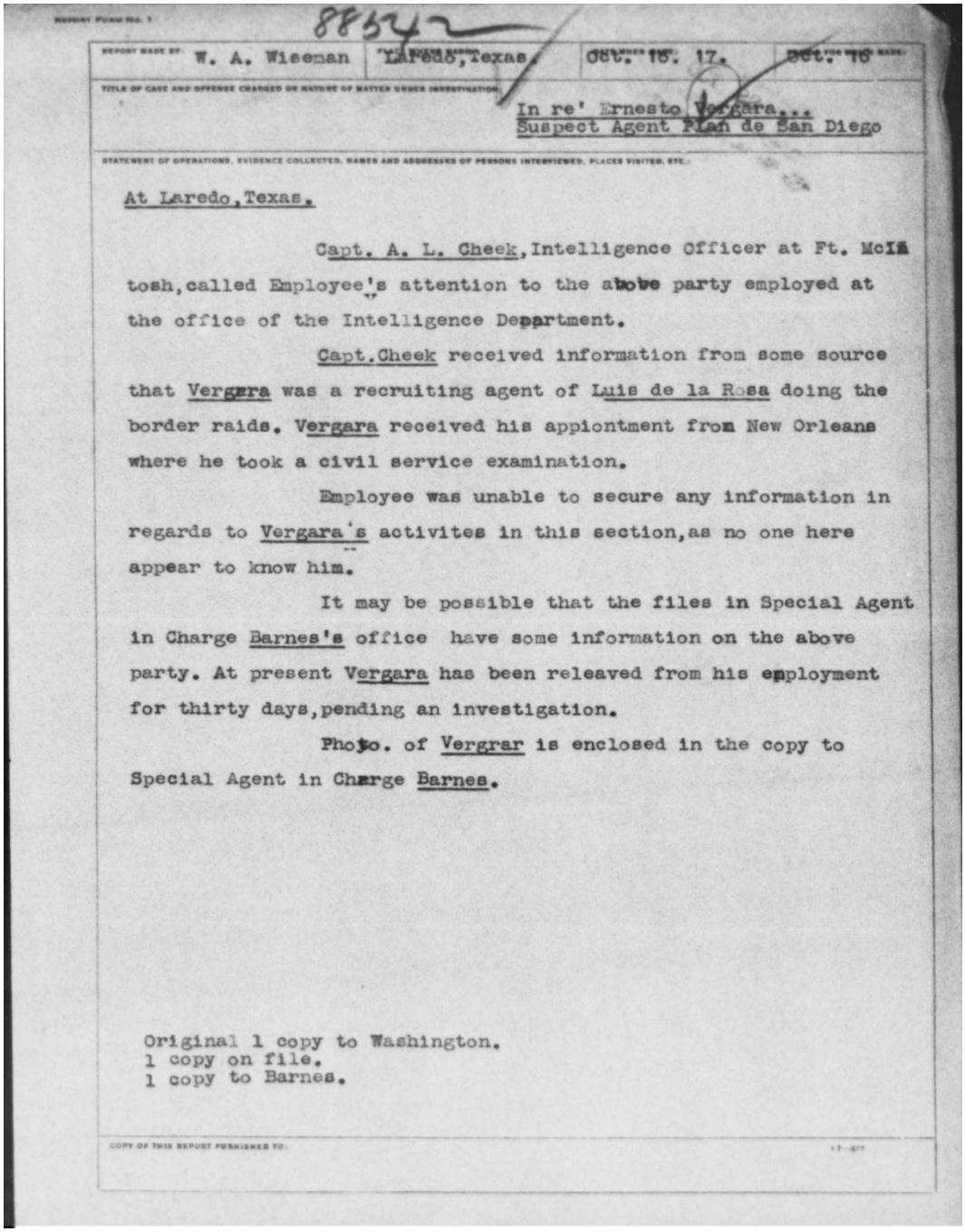
> SAYS VERGARA JOINED REBELS: FEDERAL GENERAL SAYS HE ESCAPED FROM CAPTORS American Ranchman Reported to Have Been

> Hanged at Hidalgo is said to Be Still Alive--State of Texas Is Still Pursuing Its Own Investigation (Los Angeles Times Mar 1, 1914)

A letter to the editor revealed that some felt Vergara was fully Mexican:

> CRITIC OF MEX-TEXAN: Has Caused Much Vexation at Border, Says Writer. VERGARA CARRANZA'S FRIEND Correspondent, Analyzing Situation, Declares There Was Deliberate Effort to Minimize Benton Murder and Give Execution of Vergara International Importance -- Ninety Per Cent Mexicans. - An effort is being made to minimize the wanton murder of William S. Benton, and to offset the excitement occasioned by this crime by giving the execution of Clemente Vergara by the federal forces of Mexico the importance of an international episode. Many papers in the Southwest, known to be under subsidy of the Carranza movement, have grossly misrepresented and exaggerated the Vergara case, and are only referring to the Benton murder in the most meager way (The Washington Post, Mar 23, 1914)

The Vergara incident is an example of a case with wide spread coverage where the Mexican American was treated as both an American citizen by the media, and as simply a Mexican. To further complicate the Vergara incident, one Ernesto Vergara was investigated as one of the Plan de San Diego authors by the department of Justice in 1917. This Vergara story lends credence to the theory that the plan de San Diego was developed in Laredo, or partially by Laredo residents, but theory is unsubstantiated except for a few notes by the department of Justice that indicate that Vergara was a United States government employee, suspended for possible Plan de San Diego involvement. It also shows the close historic ties between Laredo and San Diego during this era.



88542

REPORT MADE BY		DATE WHEN MADE	DATE RECEIVED	DATE FOR WHICH MADE
W. A. Wiseman	Laredo, Texas	Oct. 15. 17.		Oct. 16

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In re' Ernesto Vergara...
Suspect Agent Plan de San Diego

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

At Laredo, Texas.

Capt. A. L. Cheek, Intelligence Officer at Ft. McIntosh, called Employee's attention to the above party employed at the office of the Intelligence Department.

Capt. Cheek received information from some source that Vergara was a recruiting agent of Luis de la Rosa doing the border raids. Vergara received his appiontment from New Orleans where he took a civil service examination.

Employee was unable to secure any information in regards to Vergara's activites in this section, as no one here appear to know him.

It may be possible that the files in Special Agent in Charge Barnes's office have some information on the above party. At present Vergara has been releaved from his employment for thirty days, pending an investigation.

Photo. of Vergrar is enclosed in the copy to Special Agent in Charge Barnes.

Original 1 copy to Washington.
1 copy on file.
1 copy to Barnes.

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

Figure 51 - Vergara Department of Justice note (FBI)

News Coverage of Norias Raid

Horse stealing and thefts of cattle and livestock from ranches and small outposts on the Texas Border was almost common news for years prior to 1915. Reports of such incidents can be found regularly in Texas newspapers prior to 1915. As the Mexican Revolution and the wave of desperate immigration from México increased along the Texas Border in 1915, Texas newspapers began demonstrating the heightened tensions and residents connections to these crimes as attributable to the organized insurrections in México.

Early Texas 1915 newspaper reports of orchestrated "bands" of raiders on the South Texas Border circulated principally in the Río Grande Valley region include expressions of doubt by the local authorities to the effect that the reports to them may have based on local paranoia, and not related to a spillover of the violence in México, but due to local rumor, fear and unrest. The impression of the media and local law enforcement officers may perhaps be reinforced by the historical fact that as a result of the violence and turmoil that accompanied the revolution in México, hundreds of thousands of desperate legal and illegal immigrants from México were crossing the almost diaphanous border into the United States on a daily basis. Ricardo Romo cites that more than a million people immigrated during the years of 1910-1930 (Romo, 1975). The widely circulated news stories in every major American and Mexican newspaper that the violent armed encounters between the of the Villista forces and the Mexican Federal forces were definitely moving towards the lower Río Grande valley border area in the spring of 1915 were also facing the

border Texans and Mexicans Americans. Unlike the instate and interstate news story reporting regarding Texas connections to the Mexican Revolution, news stories concerning the actual Mexican Revolution, and the activities of Villa, Carranza, Huerta, and Zapata, in México were daily headline news in virtually every newspapers in México and the United States, including the Vergara case.

The forces led by Villa in México had in early 1915, won a battle against the Federal Carrancista forces and taken control of Piedras Negras, the El Paso sister Mexican border city. By March of 1915, the only legal points of entry on the Texas border were Nuevo Laredo, Reynosa and Matamoros. Villista armed forces announced that they were headed for these lower Río Bravo cities. News of Villa's advance was covered by both American and Mexican newspapers.

On March 27, 1915 the Villistas began their attack on Matamoros. Their attack failed leaving hundreds of casualties. By mid-April 1915 Villa's troops were badly defeated in Celaya and thousands of casualties which were reported by American newspapers. President Woodrow Wilson had stationed thousands of United States Troops along the Texas Border, 18,000 more were posted after Colquitt's threats. Although touting neutrality and non-interference, Huerta was in the United States, and initially in El Paso Texas much to the antagonism of the Villistas. Tensions were high and residents on both sides of the border were bracing for the inevitable wave of instability on the South Texas, Northern México border in the spring of 1915.

Under this backdrop, 1915 reports of "bandit" activity along the Texas Border began being covered in instate Texas Newspapers. On March 4, the Laredo Times reported under a headline:

> Guards Kill Mexican Bandits- Pitched Battle between Twelve Officers and Eighteen Outlaws Held near Nuevo Laredo" which carried a news story regarding a gun fight between Mexican Customs guards and a reported eighteen Mexican bandits (Laredo Times, March 4, 1915).

On March 24, 1915 the Brownsville Herald reported of a gang of Mexican "filibusters or bandits" crossed the Río Grande at Echazarella ranch and raided a home killing the father of a family, wounding his wife and two sons. On March 25, 1915 the San Antonio Light reporting a story regarding Zapata noted that:

> At last the State Department has triumphed in its dealings with the irresponsible element in México. After many warnings had been sent to leaders and these warnings had been repeated time and time again, Secretary Bryan now has the distinguished honor of reporting at least one case brought to what he probably considers a successful outcome from the standpoint of the government of the United States (Brownsville Herald March 24, 1915)

On March 28 1915 the Laredo Times printed a story with the headline "DON'T NEED THE MILITIA" and followed with the story that:

> It having been brought to the attention of Governor Ferguson that the militia company at Brownsville has been engaged in chasing Mexican bandits on the border, the governor promptly instructed that the order calling out the militia be withdrawn… Mr. Ferguson made it plain that there was no necessity for calling out state troops for such work so long as the federal government has an adequate force patrolling the border. He said that the state and Federal government have an agreement whereby United States soldiers are protecting Texans against Mexican bandits, and as long as that arrangement exists he considers it a waste of money in calling out troops.... It seems that the sheriff of Cameron County called upon

> Capt. George J. Head of the Brownsville company to assist him in rounding up a band of Mexican outlaws and Gov. Ferguson said the order was costing the state $50 a day to pay the expenses of the company and as a consequence the resignation of the captain will be accepted (Laredo Times, March 28, 1915)

The same wire story from Austin was carried by the Galveston newspaper. On July 8, 1915, The Brownsville Herald reported that the Cameron County Sheriff's posse had encountered a "small party" of a bandit gang that had "terrorized the south part of Cameron County" and that two bandits had been killed and two or three wounded. The news article then disclosed that the Sheriff had:

> [A]nnounced receipt of an anonymous letter, four pages long written in Spanish, giving warning that a party of one hundred men is being organized in México for the purpose of making a raid on Brownsville. The sheriff refused to make public the entire, contents of the letter, saying only that it conveyed warning' of a raid. He said he did not regard it seriously but is taking precautions nevertheless. The United States military authorities here have been advised, and close watch will be maintained to prevent any such occurrence (The Brownsville Herald, July 8, 1915)

On July 9, 1915 several Texas Newspapers including the Brownsville Herald, San Antonio Light, and Denton Chronicle, Wichita Falls Daily Times, and the Corsicana Daily Chronicle all ran an AP wire story (that was also heavily circulated interstate) under various headlines reporting that one Ralph Meyer, an American mining man, in Douglas Arizona had reported that a bandit leader named Úgárte [sic] had announced that after July 9 1915, he will kill all foreigners he caught crossing into México. In revenge for alleged ill treatment while he was interned by United States troops in Arizona. All Texas newspaper reports Meyer the Arizonan minor was forced to have paid to Úgárte [sic] a fifty dollars

ransom when his mining camp was raided. The San Antonio Light had the most details on the AP story.

The Brownsville Daily Herald next printed a story regarding the July Cameron County July hunt for bandits with the headline "AGED INDIAN ON BANDITS' TRAIL SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT ENGAGES SERVICES OF HUMAN BLOODHOUND IN BANDIT HUNT" (The Brownsville Daily Herald, July 15, 1915). The news story reports that a Mexican Indian was retained by the Cameron County Sheriff to trail eleven bandits who were accused of robbing the store of Nils Peterson, four miles south of Lyford the news report indicates that the Sheriff's deputy Manahan had:

> [T]old the sheriff that there are many accusations both open and secret, against various Mexicans in the neighborhood, but the sheriff's officers are arresting no one, on bare statements (The Brownsville Daily Herald, July 15, 1915).

On July 19 1915 the Brownsville Herald reported headlines "BANDIT SHOOTS AND KILLS BOY; FIRST VIOLENT ACT IN RAIDS" (The Brownsville Daily Herald, July 19, 1915). The newspaper article then related the following events:

> Bryan K. Boley … was shot and killed by a supposed bandit late Saturday afternoon on the W. P. Gano ranch, sixty-eight miles northeast of Brownsville and eighteen miles east of Raymondville. First reports that the man killed was a ranger were not true. Boley, who is recently from Tampa, Fla., and two Mexican ranch hands, were at work on the ranch when they saw crossing a distant clearing a Mexican, armed and mounted on a dun-colored horse. He and the men went to the ranch house for arms. Returning to t h e field, they were evidently seen by the Mexican who turned his horse into the brush and dismounted. As the three men approached two shots were fired, both supposedly by the same man. Boley fell dead….." (The Brownsville Daily Herald, July 19, 1915).

The Galveston Newspaper ran a similar version of the same story. However the next day on July 20, 1915 the Brownsville Herald ran a news story under the headlines:

> OFFICERS WILL BE CALLED OF BANDIT HUNT -NEW TACK IS TAKEN BY THE CAMERON OFFICERS IN ALLEGED RAIDS- REPORTED KILLING OF SATURDAY WAS DUE TO OTHER CAUSES THAN THAT OF BANDITS (The Brownsville Daily Herald, July 20, 1915).

On the same date, July 20, 1915 the Galveston Daily News ran the Brownsville story with the following headlines:

> BANDIT HUNT IS CALLED OFF-CAMERON COUNTY CONSTABULARY IS CONVINCED THAT EXCITEMENT HAS BEEN PROVOKED BY MINOR INCIDENTS - The sheriff's department tonight adopted a new tack in connection with the alleged Mexican bandit gang in the north end of the County. Sheriff Vann called his men off the hunt tonight, and similar action will probably be taken by Sheriff A. Y. Baker of Hidalgo County. No reason is given for this sudden change in the situation taken, but reports are that the sheriff has received information which lends him to believe that the bandit talk is mostly neighborhood excitement. With the exception of Saturday's killing of Bryan Boyle near Raymondville there have been only some minor thefts. The killing, the sheriff learned today, is charged to a domestic trouble. Officials are investigating the new phase of the killing (Galveston Daily News, July 20, 1915)

On July 21, 1915 the Brownsville Herald again reports of the Cameron County law enforcement officers activity but the report includes different information from the previous day, the July 21 news report indicates that a deputy sheriff reported that he and a posse had been trailing a gang who had started operations on July 3, robbed several ranches on July 4 and held up a storekeeper for ammunition and provisions on July 11.

The news article indicates that the posse had been out for three weeks without success, that the deputy thought that innocent residents were tipping off the thieves, and

that he was “certain that organization exists” (The Brownsville Daily Herald, July 21, 1915). This news story reiterates that the authorities did not believe there was any connection between the bandits “career of crime” and the killing of Boyle.

Their appears to be no newspaper coverage regarding San Diego outside of the State of Texas regarding the arrest of Basilio Ramos, Jr., the first wave of interstate coverage occurs with a news wire story emanating from Brownsville, Texas. The story most covered by interstate newspapers concerned what was later to be labeled by historians as the “Bandit Wars.” Texas newspapers had covered and developed prior news events that had already that vacillated from rumor to reality. Texas newspapers present a pattern or inflammatory coverage, which did not cover all the murders and events, but only those that fit their prior coverage. The story reached Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa and South Dakota, but no coverage of the murders of Mexicans and Mexicans Americans made it there. In a gun fight with armed “bandits” in the King Ranch in Kleberg County Texas engaged Manuela Flores, George Forbes, Frank Martin, and two soldiers were wounded. Some five or more raiders were killed and perhaps a dozen wounded as will be shown later, mainstream America reading about the Plan de San Diego, as postcards of the Rangers posing with the corpses of the “raiders” that was made into postcards and widely circulated (Menchaca, Naturalizing Mexican Immigrants: A Texas History, 2011)

News stories regarding the Plan revived by publicity of the proceeding in the Congressional hearings

La Prensa printed the headline: "*LA NEUTRALIDAD MEXICANA EN LOS DITURBIOS DE TEXAS*" on October 3, 1915 and summed up the border raids from the Mexican national perspective:

> *Insisten en asegurar las informaciones que publica la prensa diaria que el llamado General Emiliano P. Nafarrate [sic] jefe de la guarnición de Matamoros está prestando decidida ayuda a los sediciosos México-Texanos que operan a lo largo de margen izquierda del Río Bravo. La especia se funda en que los adeptos del Plan de San Diego hacen frecuentes incursiones a territorio de Tamaulipas sin que las fuerces pre-constitucionalistas que se encuentran guarneciendo aquel Estado, los hostilicen en lo más mínimo. El cargo, a nuestro juicio, y sálvala mejor opinión de las autoridades americanos no es justificado... Puede ser verdad, en todo caso, que los sediciosos México-Texanos busquen refugio cuando se ven apremiados en tierra Mexicana; puede ser verdad también que Nafarrate [sic] tolero ésas incursiones por la imposibilidad en que se encuentra de vigilar con las fuerzas de qué dispone la extensa zona militar que está a su cargo, y a un nos atrevemos a creer que por afinidades de raza y afinidades revolucionarios llueve a simpatizar con el movimiento sedicioso de este Estado. Pero, de esto, a que tenga convivencias directas con los alzados y les imparta una ayuda franca y decidida media una distancia muy apreciable. Además, hay que convenir en que aun en el caso de que las cosas acontecieron en la forma que se dice, vienen aconteciendo a la responsabilidad del jefe de la guarnición de Matamoros sería muy limitada, si se tiene en cuenta que proceder como se afirma que procede, no cree ejecutar un acto que se a ilegitimo pues estas seguro de que se inspiran el ejemplo de tolerancia que han tenido las autoridades de este país para con los revolucionarios Mexicanos de 1910 Y 1913* (*La Prensa,* October 3, 1915)

While Basilio Ramos was arrested in January of 1915, he was magistrated and released on $500 bond reportedly carrying the Plans for a grandiose and bloody armed insurrection to begin in San Diego Texas on February 20, 1915, history reports no evidence

of any calamity or extraordinary event to have occurred in San Diego on that date. Local San Diego news was regularly reported by local papers and by the more widely circulated newspapers of Galveston, Laredo, and San Antonio. While the area papers reviewed by this writer for the month of February and March of 1915 do carry San Diego news, nothing extraordinary appears to have occurred during this time. Giving the benefit of the doubt to the contemporary reactors, perhaps the Plan was effectively aborted by the capture of Basilio Ramos.

In January 1914, Funston was appointed Commander of the Second Division of the United States Army, and in April was placed in charge of the Vera Cruz expedition, sent to México because of the Villa-Huerta complications. He then served as Military Governor of Vera Cruz until November 1914, when he was raised to the rank of Major-General in the regular army. In February 1915, he was placed in general command of the United States forces along the Mexican border. He subsequently had command of the expeditionary force which crossed the border into México, under the command of General John J. Pershing.

The internet resource used claim copyright on the newspaper stories that have since entered the public record, past copyright. The online archives represented content to be copyrighted, I have collected a digital reproduction of the actual newspaper pages from which I quoted in this chapter. The archives are not complete, many small papers are not curated, and many Spanish language and African American papers are not accessible.

Smaller papers and immigrant communities such as San Diego are represented by larger cities' papers.

Many San Diego residents subscribed to Laredo, Corpus and San Antonio English language papers. They also read Spanish-language newspapers, some of which were owned by immigrants or refugees, of these *La Prensa*, founded in 1913, had the widest circulation second was *La Prensa* (Martinez-Catsam, 2009). The Spanish-language press reported on events in México, denounced the repression of immigrants and the abuse of Tejanos, and encouraged maintenance of the culture of la patria (México). Newspapers assisted in the preservation of the old way of life by giving space to various religious and secular celebrations, publishing works of literature, and encouraging various artists, writers, and musicians.

Both immigrants and Mexican Americans participated in the activities undertaken by labor organizations. The American Federation of Labor typically spurned Mexican-descent workers and saw them as potential strikebreakers, but Tejano workers found other alternatives. The membership of La *Agrupación Protectora,* founded in 1911, included farm renters and laborers. *La Agrupación* called for the protection of its members from illegal repossession of property. Tejanos also joined various Socialist organizations such as the different affiliates of the Socialist party in Texas, for instance, Vergara had a Woodsman of the World membership. Some Tejano workmen joined craft unions but found themselves segregated from Caucasian laborers. Even so, the era of the revolution and World War I produced an upswing in organizational awareness.

Politically, Tejanos participated in protest activities to bring attention to the problems of everyday life. One issue that confronted many was the education of their children. In such communities as Del Rio and San Angelo, parents pressured the local school boards for change, though not very successfully.

Other issues of concern included lynching, labor exploitation, and changing land ownership. To highlight those problems, several hundred delegates convened in Laredo in September 1911 at what was called the *Congreso Mexicanista*. Participants addressed the problems that afflicted Mexican Americans as a whole, while women presented their own agenda dealing with the social and political status of women. The *Congreso* started the *Liga Femenil Mexicanista* and entrusted it with being an educational advocate for Tejanos.

CHAPTER 8: WHY IS THERE NO MEXICAN AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY?

The discomfort with which Mexican and Mexican American settlers were viewed for various historical reasons by Anglos in the early 20th century, some of which were given expression in the Plan de San Diego and subsequent media coverage, did not only affect Mexican Americans as an emerging group in 1915, it may well be reflected in the current lack of a Mexican-American Archaeology. Why is there no Mexican American Archaeology in the United States? Millions of Mexican Americans contributed to the historic archaeological record here and more than half of the United States was México until 164 years ago, but there is currently no recognized sub-discipline in Archaeology that investigates Mexican American experiences. Historic Mexican American sites would date from after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) where the Mexican population of the southwest became citizens of the United States, to fifty years from the present as outlined by section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 for historic property designation and archaeological guidelines (NHPA, 1966). Many of these sites also have Native American, Spanish colonial and Mexican colonial components, yet are often identified solely as Spanish or Native American sites despite the historic occupation of American citizens of Mexican descent, who now one of the largest ethnic groups in the United States.

This silencing of the Mexican American contribution to the cultural landscape is part of a larger historic trend that emphasizes historic Spanish and prehistoric Native

American and disempowers Mexican American and other subaltern claims to place and contributions to history. The lack of scholarship on historic Mexican American sites by archaeologists, and the persistence of research focusing exclusively on the Spanish colonial and Native American aspects of many sites while excluding Mexican colonial and Mexican American components are ways by which archaeology, in effect, silences Mexican American history. Archaeology has increased awareness of race and gender bias but there is still a need to expand archaeological research designs and political engagement to include Mexican American and other ethnic and cultural minority experiences (Orser C. E., 1994; Orser C. E., Race and Practice in Archaeological Studies., 2003; Rubertone, 2009; Shakel, 2001; Siân, 2007; Mullins, a Race and the Genteel Consumer: Class and African-American Consumption. Historical Archaeology, 1999; Mullins, Race and Affluence: An Archaeology of African America and Consumer Culture, 1999). Concepts of race and racialized experiences are difficult to identify, but archaeology has made advances in studying ethnicity, gender and class through material archaeological records (Voss B. , 2008; Deetz, 1996; Praetzellis, 2007; Mullins, a Race and the Genteel Consumer: Class and African-American Consumption. Historical Archaeology, 1999; Orser C. E., Race and Practice in Archaeological Studies., 2003). While issues of race and gender have been included in studies of Spanish colonial sites, there is still a void of scholarship on Mexican American components of those same sites. African American Archaeology is a growing subfield in historical archaeology of the United States, but there is still a lack of multi-faceted questions that show the intersections of race and gender in African American archaeological contexts. There is a need not just to dig up places where African Americans

lived, but also to question how space was imagined and used, and how gender and race shaped the built environment. The call for inclusion of Black feminist archaeology by Maria Franklin brings critical questions like this to the forefront (Franklin M. G., 1999; Franklin M. , 2001).

One way to recognize the contributions of Mexican Americans to the history of the United States is through historic preservation and commemoration of Mexican American places. Increasing the number of recorded Historic Mexican American sites is listed as a priority by many State Historic Preservation Offices, to increase awareness of underrepresented historic properties and populations. For example, the California the Office of Historic Preservation called for more diversity in registered historic places in the online book *Five Views* that was specifically published to increase awareness about and inclusion of historically underrepresented groups in historic preservation and archaeological sites.

> In 1846, the United States invaded and conquered California, then part of the Republic of México. This event, one aspect of the 1846 -1848 US-Mexican War, led to US annexation of California through the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Mexican American history in California had begun. (California, 1988)

Mexican American sites are eligible for both State and National historic registries of Historic Places (NRHP) and add to the history of the United States by including different experiences in the historic and archeological record, yet the number of sites do not correspond with the historic or current populations and cultural landscapes of most of the United States. Mexican American historic sites span the time period defined by the National Historic Preservation Act, from 1846 until 1963 or 50 years from the present day

(NHPA, 1966). Mexican American sites were occupied or built by Mexican Americans and include places and events that contributed to Mexican American History and the ethnogenesis of a Mexican American ethnicity.

Historic archaeology in the borderlands between the United States and México faces difficulties identifying and dealing with race, racism and alterity and representation in scholarship (Clark, principal investigator, & editor, 1986; Clark B. T., 2005). Mexican American Studies have paved the way by describing how Mexican American families lived, what they ate and what their legal and political experiences were. Historic archaeology can add anthropological and ethno-historical accounts through analysis of the concrete evidence of what they left behind: households, communities and archaeological sites (Trouillot, 1995). While there have been giant strides in the field of archaeology to address race, class and gender bias, issues of representation and racialized experiences, there is still a lack of critical racially conscious archaeology that connects descendant groups with the prehistoric and historic past in the United States. The silence surrounding historic Mexican American occupation and the lack of theory, research and public engagement with the historic Mexican American landscapes and material culture has to be consciously explored through archaeological research questions that build on Mexican American studies and accumulates an academic body of research.

To identify Mexican American sites, I follow the definition of Mexican American set forth by Ian Haney López in *White by Law*; the legal definition of Mexican American is the one unifying experience of the multi-ethnic Mexican descent American born populations in the United States. This definition is useful in San Diego, Texas where

people identified as Mexican and the legal ramifications of race and ethnicity appear in the archival record surrounding the rebellion of the Plan de San Diego and the ethnogenesis of the Mexican American identity in court battles and property disputes after the annexation of Texas (Haney López, 1996). Haney López notes that some scholars link the multi-racial and diverse ethnic Mexican American people through a common racialized legal experience, rather than ethnic community definition so that Mexican Americans could fight discriminatory laws. This racialization of various ethnic Mexican Americans was useful in fighting discriminatory race based laws and practices. This etic definition of Mexican American focuses on shared experiences, as opposed to individual ethnic community definitions which vary regionally. The diverse people of Mexican descent who were granted United States citizenship after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo also self-identify as Indígenas, Chicano, Latino, Mexican, Californio/a, Tejano and other terms, while the census calls them Hispanic.

Representation and reclamation of silenced pasts and histories was an important part of the 1960's Civil Rights movement and feminist Anthropology. Subaltern histories and giving voices to women, children and queer experiences were some of the academic inroads for reclaiming silenced pasts. Mexican American studies came into existence as a recognized academic discipline after this push for civil rights; it focused on the contribution and experiences of Mexican Americans including them in mainstream history. Noel Hume called archaeology the handmaiden to history in 1964, but history in the United States has been dominated by a Boltonian legacy of emphasizing the colonial Spanish and Native American past, effectively silencing the colonial Mexican and Mexican American eras in

the borderlands (Noël Hume, 1976; Bolton H. E., 1921). Archaeology is more than a handmaiden to history: it is a research method that shows connections that may not be included in archives, or shows evidence that contradicts the accepted historical narrative. While Chicano and Mexican American studies have increased knowledge and emphasized the transnational and multiethnic borderlands history, archaeology has continued to miss this opportunity to expand scholarship by failing to design research that increases awareness of Mexican Americans in the past and has not inspired social change by studying previously ignored or overlooked histories. In the 1980's Native American and African American scholars made inroads in representation and theory in archaeology. In "Seizing Intellectual Power: the dialogue of the African Burial Ground" La Roche and Blakely call for an archaeological practice that is reflective and designed to overcome historic inaccuracies and lack of representation (La Roche, 1997).

Christopher Tilley called for archaeology to work for social justice by recognizing silenced pasts and through critical approaches and public outreach work to remember silenced histories (Tilley, 1989). Barbara Little and Paul Shackel identify the need for public input and responsible archaeology that recognizes silenced pasts and gives voices to them in *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement* (Shakel, 2001; Little B. J., 2007). Mexican American Archaeology is a burgeoning area to increase public outreach and connect descendant communities to their histories and increase diversity of archaeologists and archaeological research models following the calls from these prominent archaeologists and expanding the field through diverse and reflexive archaeological studies and research questions.

A number of archaeological sites, including missions, presidios, colonial ranchos and historic Mexican American settlements are relevant to understanding the early Mexican American experience and the beginning of the United States. The emergence of a Mexican American identity, the continuum of historic occupation, and the archaeological and architectural contributions made by Mexican Americans are often inaccurately lumped together with Spanish colonial eras. México declared independence from Spain in 1810, ushering in the colonial Mexican period, followed by the annexation of half of México and its citizens by the United States in 1848, starting the Historic Mexican American Period in the United Sates. These separate legal periods with different national boundaries and laws should be noted by historians and archaeologists to maintain historic accuracy, not lumped together.

Archaeology is based on correctly identifying past epochs and artifacts, not mislabeling historic and legal definitions but working towards a critical, racially conscious science that correctly identifies the people and places studied through self-representation and accurate legal scholarship. The disparity of representation of race and ethnicity in many sites is noted in the California Office of Historic Preservation's plan for increased diversity in historic preservation:

> Similarly, Hispanic cultural resources are often overlooked with the exception of the iconic California Missions. For example, there is no statewide context of adobe structures many of which date to the era of Spanish and Mexican control of California. The contributions of Hispanic culture do not proportionally appear in the numbers of identified historic resources. The continued contributions of Hispanic societies after the US takeover of California are often missed. Other ethnic and cultural groups have properties and sites with significance to California's historic past. Like Native Americans and Hispanics, however, few of

> these groups have been adequately consulted or involved in the preservation of the properties associated with their historic pasts. California, as the premier example of a multicultural society on the US mainland, must encourage greater involvement of the state's diverse ethnic and other marginalized groups in historic preservation activities. In addition, there needs to be a greater understanding of the contributions of all cultures to California by the dominant Anglo society (California, 1988).

Patricia Rubertone notes in "Archaeologies of place making: monuments, memories, and engagement in native North America" that: "Archaeological theories about contact have been based largely on the assumption that Native American (and European) cultures were not dynamic and changing. The idea that cultures disappeared or are not related to living groups also dominated archaeological thought" (Rubertone, 2009, p. 59). Rubertone warns about the prevalence of archaeological thought that removes the connection of the indigenous and past cultures to living people. The disconnection of archaeological studies from living cultures can be changed in a site such as San Diego that has multiple colonization and communities and good archival evidence to compile into a dynamic vision of the rebellion and the people who lived it.

Archeology of Mexican American sites can build on current Mexican American studies by designing research questions to ensure inclusive archaeology that increases knowledge and builds the available data and theories of Mexican American cultural identity. By looking at how material culture is related to other aspects of Mexican American experiences it fills in gaps in the historic and archival records. Using the theoretical and methodological framework of African American and Native American historical archaeology, Mexican American archaeology needs to have research questions

that redress the past omissions and biases in the history of Archaeology, physical anthropology, and history where non-European non-western populations have been silenced in the past (Deloria, 1995; Siân, 2007; La Roche, 1997; Blakey, 1995).

First, Mexican American components of sites have to be identified. To identify Mexican American sites, the broad legal definition of Mexican American should be employed. The emergence of a Mexican American identity, the continuum of historic occupation, and the archaeological and architectural contributions during and after the annexation of half of México and its citizens by the United States in 1848 marks the beginning of the Historic Mexican American Period in the United Sates (Adelman, 1999). These separate legal periods with different national boundaries and laws should be noted by historians and archaeologists to maintain historic accuracy. Legal definitions of identity should also be compared to personal identity, which can be difficult to pin down, as it is fluid and changing depending on the situation. Reséndez observes that times of rebellion and change in national and state boundaries are moments where identity is forced into more concrete categories, therefore rebellions are ideal periods to study (Reséndez, 2005; Chazan, 1991).

Mexican American archaeology should cover the time period between 1848 through 1963 or to the current "historic period" as defined by section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Mexican American archaeology is therefore defined by time period, race, ethnicity, citizenship, and archaeological region. Historic Mexican American sites date from after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) when the multi-ethnic Mexican citizens in many areas became citizens of the United States. Many

Mexican American sites also have Native American, Spanish colonial and Mexican colonial components, and are often only identified as Spanish or Native American sites instead of recognizing the cultural and legal differences of the occupations as well as the continuity of practices (Deagan K. w., 1983; Voss B. , 2008). This has the effect of silencing a large time period and excluding Mexican American contributions to these sites. The goal of this research is to increase awareness of underrepresented historic properties and populations and add to the data available in Mexican American studies. The secondary goal is to involve the community by doing publicly engaged archaeology, and effect social change by increasing participation by Mexican American archaeologists (Merriman, 2004; Beaudry M. C., 1994). The material and houses left behind, the consumer choices and the built environments add to the archival and historical work of scholars of Mexican American history. In addition, historical archaeology can have living archaeological informants to show how things were used, because they were alive during the historic period being studied. It is difficult but imperative to attribute the correct legal and social definitions of the people, places and times covered.

The results of any archaeological inquiry are dependent on what questions are asked from the data. Research questions should illuminate the historic trajectory of the sites, including details about migration and questions about where people moved from. Qualitative and economic studies of the past material world and quality of life allow archaeology to go beyond demography, economic history and settlement patterns to show how people lived, what tools they employed, what items they created, what they bought

and valued. Archaeology can also show if there is resistance to the dominant hegemony through material choices and practices at the sites.

Archaeology is un-silencing, it is literally taking material culture that was buried and bringing it to the world through multidisciplinary methodologies, combining physical and cultural anthropology, ethnohistorical research, mapping and various other disciplines such as art history and architectural studies to let the sites speak for themselves. Mexican American studies shows the racialized and varied experiences of the Mexican descendant populations in the United States, archaeology adds to this information by detailing the material culture, spatial relationships and other micro-scale and community level analytical approaches. Mexican American Archaeology can identify trends in material culture, distribution of material patterns over space and time and ask questions about how Mexican Americans lived that can only be answered through looking at what was left behind because these details are left out of archives and census data based studies.

There are few accessible archaeological studies of historic Mexican American sites. Cultural resource management often documents these sites, but there are barriers to nomination to the registers of State and National historic places. Academic archaeology has few examples of studies that focus on Mexican American experiences. In 1979, Interstate 35 was expanded in Laredo, Texas. Following the laws in section 106 in the National Historic Preservation Act, the demolishing of four blocks and a variety of houses was documented by John Clark and Anna Maria Juarez supervised an excavation to mitigate the loss of archaeological sites in what is known as CRM or Cultural Resource Management archaeology. In *Urban Archaeology: A Culture History of a Mexican*

American Barrio in Laredo, Webb County, Texas there are details of the lives of working, middle and upper class Mexican American households that were going to be demolished (Clark, principal investigator, & editor, 1986). The findings were published in a federal government report, and the TxDot report: Texas State Department of Highways and Public Transportation Publications in Archaeology Report 31 that is not widely available. The site covered the historic Mexican American time period as well as Colonial Mexican and Spanish eras. The 193,400 items excavated are available at the Nuevo Santander Museum at Fort McIntosh in Laredo. The project collected artifacts, genealogy and oral history for the area, but a wave of Mexican American archaeology did not follow this study.

Another study of a site with a Mexican American component is Bonnie Clark's "Lived Ethnicity: Archaeology and Identity in *Mexican* America." Clark's study discusses nationality, identity and citizenship and addresses the legal definition of the people who occupied the site of *La Placita* in Colorado through archival research. She points out an important aspect of Mexican American historic archaeology: that the place remained the same but the national border shifted along with the self-identification and imposed identity of many people living there (Clark B. T., 2005).

A pivotal archaeological site that has a historic Mexican American component that is not emphasized is Mission San Antonio de Valero, or the Alamo. Richard Flores notes that the Alamo is used as a master symbol to legitimize modern Texas and exploit and displace Mexicans (Flores, 2002). Flores notes that the preservation of the Alamo has centered mostly on the Anglo and the Spanish, in part this move is understood as public outreach and nationalist interpretation of the non-Mexican American past. The

archaeology, preservation and public history of the Mission San Antonio de Valero is aimed at fitting a historical narrative that routinely devalues historic Mexican American, colonial Mexican and the roots of Mexican experiences while emphasizing Texas Modern and Spanish colonial experiences. These public sites are then part of a larger historical narrative that started with Bolton championing the Spanish and not the Mexican; these public memorials hide aspects of the site's historical trajectory actively silencing Mexican American occupation of that site.

One explanation for the lack of historic recognition of the Mexican American experience may be the lack of Mexican American archaeologists. Most archaeology is conducted by for-profit cultural resource management companies that fulfill legal mandates of documentation of sites that are going to be destroyed. This CRM archaeology may not be interested in anthropological archaeology, may lack resources and skills for thorough analysis and may face barriers to formally recognizing historic Mexican American settlements under the current laws (Paynter, 2000). While there have been at least three archaeological inquiries into historic Mexican American experiences by John Clark, Bonnie Clark and the multi-ethnic study by Praetzellis, Praetzellis and Van Buren, many other sites with Historic Mexican American components have been dug by CRM archaeologists who decide the cultural significance of the sites with little or no input from descendant communities because that is not required by law. Shepard and Franklin both call for more archaeologists of color to investigate their own histories (Shepherd, 2003; Franklin M. , 2001).

Mexican American historic archaeology is an important part of the cultural landscape of a large part of the United States. Expanding studies to include the preservation of contributions by different groups in the United States expands Anthropology and Mexican American studies by showing the different ways of place making and use of material culture, important aspects of history that should be examined as part of the shared cultural landscape. Mexican American historical archaeology should consider colonialism, United States history, identity, economics, race, and culture change and comparative archaeological assemblies that are part of the Mexican American contribution to the American cultural landscape (Bruchac, 2010; McNiven, 2005).

Mexican American descendant groups have unfortunately been excluded from previous archaeological investigations. Historical archaeology can be reflexive and inclusive, advancing the field of Anthropology by adding theory and research to abundant data about Mexican American material worlds that has not been explored and connecting to new participants in local descendant groups therefore archaeological studies need to be expanded to include Mexican American culture and people in the past and in the present. Anthropology needs to include people of diverse ethnicities, especially in the contested places of representation like museums and archeological sites (Little B. J., 2007; La Roche, 1997). Increased participation will increase community engagement and empowerment, becoming mutually beneficial to Anthropology and the people being studied.

The site of San Diego, Texas is a good case to approach Mexican American Archaeology. Because of the Plan de San Diego, Mexican American identities were forged from Tejano and Mexican citizens. There is a wealth of historic accounts including media,

census and property data. There are also intact archaeological deposits and a community that is willing to engage in research and help guide the archaeological investigation of the past. I argue that the Plan de San Diego changed the course of state and national history, and this is visible on the ground in San Diego, Texas in material culture and archival changes and continuities of identity, diet and spatial distribution of ethnic groups in San Diego. San Diego is important to Mexican American Studies because of the Plan de San Diego; it is also visible in multiple state and national archives because of the threat of irredentist revolt. With the multiple histories embedded in San Diego, it is a good site to practice reflexive archaeological methods to add to the data available about historic Mexican American populations.

Mary Jo Galindo noted that Historic Archaeology in South Texas, with few exceptions is a nascent field (Galindo, 2003). A decade after her groundbreaking study, my work in San Diego is part of the regional South Texas historical archaeology that is still a rare research topic. I hope to add the concentration of Mexican American historic archaeology to the field, and pave the way for future studies to analyze Mexican American archaeology. I feel my work in San Diego reflects traditional archaeological interests in that I am using a scientific framework to look at the household material culture, the community layout and the effects of status and ethnicity on the type and distribution of artifacts and site layout of an important place in Mexican American history. Mexican American archaeology should ideally look at multiple ethnicities' consumption patterns, access and social conditions, and what material choices allowed survival in everyday life during the historic Mexican American period, but as the sub-disciple has not expanded

much since Galindo's work, I hope my work on an infamous place attracts others to this field to expand knowledge about the diverse ethnic heritage in the United States.

Why did varied people come together through internal and external pressures cause the ethnogenesis of a singular Mexican American ethnic group arise in South Texas, and what material cultural traditions exist in this geographic area? Mexican American Archaeology can discuss the artifacts, structures and sites associated with historic Mexican American occupation sites, taking what Orser calls a subordinate perspective to view culture and history from the bottom up (Orser C. E., 1994).

While my interest in ethnicity, cultural landscape and historic preservation are research designs that may not be common in traditional pre-historic archaeological studies, my study of the space, form, and dates of the artifacts and behavioral context of the material culture in San Diego Texas is firmly rooted in traditional archaeology. Material culture, subsistence and technology shaped and were shaped by the Mexican American ethnic identity that emerged in San Diego after the Plan de San Diego was found. This research is an exploration of how Mexican American's shaped their material world. This is also backyard archeology, what Fairbanks called for in 1972 to look at the close to home by-products of past behaviors (Fairbanks, 1977).

Mexican American sites all contain material culture, by creating a baseline of one particular Mexican American time and place, the distribution and provenience of artifacts at other Mexican American sites can be compared to San Diego. Pan-ethnic and racial comparisons to the material conditions of other groups can then be made. I believe that archaeology is inherently political (McGuire, 2008), and that the choice of research

questions and explicit representation of Mexican Americans in the archeological record through my research design will add to the empowerment and education of Mexican Americans in the present.

During the civil rights movement, many archaeologists followed social anthropology to study everyday normal people's lives through the lens of archaeology. This new archaeology illuminated the experiences of the oppressed, silenced, or forgotten. James Deetz is one of the early and most prolific writers in historical archaeology, writing *In Small Things Forgotten* and impacting the direction of many other studies of historic material culture in the United States (Deetz, 1996). By examining history from the perspective of the things of everyday life, gaps in the archival and historical record could be explored through items belonging to women, children and subalterns who had been left out or erased from traditional history. David Hurst Thomas postulates that the rise of archaeology shaped the colonization process, and the nation building agenda of much of this archaeology remains with us to this day (Hurst-Thomas, 2008). Historic archaeological studies have examines the process of colonialism in times of fluid identity and crisis like Barbara Voss's study of ethnogenesis of Californio identity (Deagan K. , 1993; Lyons, 2002; Voss B. , 2008; Wilcox, 2009).

The practice of archaeology and archaeological collections are inherently political. The displaying of cultures and ancestral remains is still a controversial and colonial methodology; one response to this is Indigenous archaeology. Indigenous archaeology seeks to increase positive collaboration with descendant communities and legislation aimed at mitigating ethical responsibilities of archaeologists to the nation as well as indigenous

people. One way to build positive relationships with Indigenous communities is to train more indigenous archaeologists. Another is to allow community involvement in the preservation of heritage and cultural resources, so that archaeologists and descendant communities are in conversation and this dialogue informs archaeological practice (Deloria, 1995; Rubertone, 2009; Bruchac, 2010). Without detracting from indigenous history, Mexican Americans have their roots in the indigenous peoples of the Americas, expanding indigenous archaeology to encompass Mexican indigenous and mestizo experiences can only strengthen Indigenous studies.

African American and African Diaspora archaeology collect data about the material culture of African Americans both during freedom and at the material culture of enslaved people. Answering the call for a critical look at historically disenfranchised people's material culture, African American archaeology adds to the written history about African Diasporas in the New world which at best is biased and incomplete (Deetz, 1996). African-American Archaeology analyzes race and capitalism as Paul Mullins (1996) shows examining African American consumption patterns, showing both the opportunity to participate in capitalism and the economic threats posed by predatory capitalist practices. Mullins breaks down the consumption patterns of knick-knacks as symbolic of United States nationalism, abundance and white society. Mass produced wares as signifiers of the American dream post emancipation, also as items sold to them by predatory plantation shop owners. Mullins argued that these items were especially meaningful and racially charged. Often cultural resources management archaeologists determine cultural significance of the sites with little or no input from descendant communities. There is a

lot of scholarship on African American archaeology, but few black archaeologists in the United States, Shepard and Franklin both call for more archaeologists of color to investigate their own histories (Shepherd, 2003; Franklin M. , 2001).

The racialized experiences of disparate groups can be seen in their access to and choices of material culture, as Deetz demonstrates through *In Small Things Forgotten* that some material culture was shared by Irish and Asian immigrants (Deetz, 1996). Asian American archaeology is another integral part of American Historical Archeology, part of the Western expansion of the United States and the experiences of ethnic Chinese in the New World (Voss B., 2008; Schuyler, 1980). It is important to analyze ethnic Chinese household taking into account the idea that the household is the basic nuclear family and smallest cultural unit above the individual is a western tradition. Asian American archaeology also explores non-household groups like railroad work camps that operate like households and reveal details about life in the American west.

Historical Archaeology in the borderlands between the United States and México faces similar difficulties dealing with race, racism and alterity faced by African American Archaeology that expanding the black and white dichotomy of United States historical archaeology to include Mexican American material culture (Clark B. T., 2005). Mexican American studies have paved the way for multi-disciplinary archaeological projects by describing how Mexican American families lived, what they ate and what their legal and political experiences were based on archival and oral history projects. The information discussed previously barely touches on the rich culinary and cultural history of Mexican Americans. Historic archaeology is adding to that anthropology and ethno-history through

the description of concrete evidence. What Mexican American households leave behind: things, communities and embodied choices that are visible in the built environment and tell stories that are equally as important as written history (Trouillot, 1995). While there have been giant strides in the field of archaeology to address class and gender biases, issues of representation and racialized experiences, there is still a lack of critical racially conscious archaeology that connects descendant groups with the prehistoric and historic past in the United States. The silence surrounding historic Mexican American occupation and the lack of theory, research and public engagement with the historic Mexican American landscape and material culture has to be consciously given voice through archaeological research that builds on Mexican American studies.

Mexican Americans had racialized experiences that were similar to those experienced by Native Americans, free Black people and Asian immigrants. Race and ethnicity are integral parts of how to examine site formation processes at Mexican American sites. The Plan de San Diego called for Mexican Americans, Native Americans, Blacks and Asians to unite against the incursion of the United States and ethnic subjugation. San Diego is a good place to examine pan-ethnic and racial experiences because it was a vibrant crossroads of countries, railroads and practices until the transgressive Plan de San Diego changed the community's demographics. Mexican American archaeology unites the theory and methods of African American, Indigenous and Asian American archaeology to look at sites not objectively, but with politically engaged, racially conscious lenses. Like in African American Archaeology, there is still a need for archival and interview research, stylistic pattern analysis, and the close reading of media

and advertising (Mullins, 1999). With the Chinese exclusion Act, the borders tightened for trans-national Mexican citizens and Mexican Americans, impacting Mexicans and ethnic Chinese living in México as well as the Chinese and Mexican communities in Texas. My research reflects the advances in critical racially conscious archaeology made by African American, Asian American and Indigenous archaeology, and applies this toolkit to Mexican American sites.

Traditional Archaeology uncovers monuments and associations, through excavation. My research follows post-processual archaeology to look at individual households, communities and patterns that have not been included in the accepted history. By analyzing material culture through the framework of archaeological survey, sampling and mapping, I am putting forth a detailed picture of the recent past and starting to compile a baseline of material assemblages to the descendant groups and anthropologists who study Mexican Americans. I am also employing third wave feminist approaches to the framing of my questions to look at the "triumvirate of gender, race, and class.'' (Saitta D. J., 2007, p. 5). The best description of the theoretical grounding of my work is perhaps processual-plus, in that I am collecting data about the material culture, subsistence and environment at the site of San Diego with the scientific method, and I am aware of the political impact of my work.

Elizabeth Brumfiel argues that archaeology has focused on prehistoric sites in ways that have distanced modern descendant communities from their histories. (Brumfiel 2003) Ken Lightfoot and Patricia Rubertone focus on continuity of practices from the prehistoric to the historic utilizing historic archaeology to demonstrate patterns, they seek to change

the perception that history abruptly shifted after colonial contact. (Lightfoot 1995, Rubertone 2000) Like Mary Jo Galindo, I am using Orser and Fagan's definition of Historical archaeology as a "multidisciplinary field that shares a special relationship with the formal disciplines of anthropology and history, focuses its attention on the post-prehistoric past, and seeks to understand the global nature of modern life." (1994:14) Early Spanish colonial archaeology reveals the cosmopolitan aspects of life in California and Florida Spanish and later Mexican colonial archaeology as Kathleen Deagan and Barbara Voss show in their studies.

Both continuity and change can be seen in Mexican American sites, with foodways being one of the most enduring ethnic traditions. (Glassie 1969) The discussion of consumption in African American households by Mullins shows how people buy what they can afford, but also subvert social norms (Mullins). The fluid nature of identity is pinned down in times of crisis, when people have to act out one identity, as Reséndez notes in *Changing National identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850:* "Rebellions and wars were occasions when frontier residents faced stark and very public choices and were thus forced to act as if they were Mexicans, Indians, Americans or Texas, however uncertain they privately felt about these categories" (Reséndez 2005, p 2-3). In the places and times when social categories were shifting the arbitrary and moveable nature of identity is revealed (Leóne 1999). San Diego experienced flux in identity and rebellion during the years of 1910-1930, making it an ideal site to analyze the fluid nature of identity and ethnogenesis of Mexican Americans.

Historic Mexican American sites, households and cultural landscapes where Mexican Americans lived are all eligible for election to the National Register of historic places if they are examples of art, architecture or exceptionally well-preserved. But what is it about these places that mark them as different from other historic archaeological sites? Historical archaeology uses archaeological methodology to organize data, look for trends and include archival and ethno-historical work. Building on the work of scholars of Mexican American History, I argue that the identification of a unique Mexican American historic material cultural sequence hinges on embodied choices and continued subsistence strategies and foodways. Recognizing patterns in food preparation and subsistence choices shows their spread and diffusion in the historic Mexican American distribution across class lines. Some choices like outdoor *horno*s, *ollas* and traditional Mexican and indigenous food practices and festivals including *tortillas, pan de campo* and *tamales* can been seen as markers of ethnicity and agency, and it is the sum of these and other material choices that make the Mexican American households unique.

It is crucial to examine food choices, subsistence strategies and household procedures when approaching historic archaeological sites, oral history and archival sources. Food is at the intersection of what Saitta calls ‘‘historical archaeology’s great triumvirate of gender, race, and class’’ (Saitta D. J., 2007, p. 5). The household is a place where food patterns and distribution can be analyzed along age, race, class and gender interactions and activity spheres. Food is therefore a lens with which to view the intersections of vectors of oppression as well as household distributions of power. Food is a common part of ethnographic and archaeology studies.

Claude Levi-Strauss's seminal articles *The Raw and the Cooked* (1969) and *The Culinary Triangle* began to look critically at food and culture, more recently Michael Pollan and Marvin Harris have written about food, increasing the way we look at food choices and symbolic eating (Lévi-Strauss, The raw and the cooked, 1969; Lévi-Strauss, The Culinary Triangle, 1966; Pollan, 2006; Harris M. , 1985). Mary Wiesmantle discusses the food distribution power and gender in Ecuadorian households (Wiesmantle 1988). In prehistoric archaeology millet noodles have been identified in ancient china (Lu 2005), and chocolate pots in Mayan digs (Powis et al 2002). Food has a way of bridging historic gaps, and the presence of food preparation and recipes that are both alien and familiar has a power to transport both archaeologists and audiences in ways few other archeological data can. We are what we eat, so similar approaches can be taken to analyze the distribution of food, work and power in historic Mexican American households. Historic archaeology has looked at food production, butchering and distribution critically, and is uniquely poised to recover the material components and evidence of foodways in the recent past. I don't see cooking and food as menial, but rather as crucial tools to view culture, ethnicity and past behaviors (Graff and Rodríguez-Alegría 2012).

The cultural geographer Daniel Arreola sees the bathtub Virgin as a marker of the Mexican American household. Arreola also translates the Plaza as a marker of Mexican American communities, and noted the unusual arrangement of San Diego as a two plaza community. Similar embodied choices can be seen translated and dispersed across the borderlands as markers of Mexican American agency and choice in material and cultural landscapes. One important marker of choice in historic Mexican American household

space is the *horno* or above ground outdoor oven. The *horno* is not only a marker of choice of food production and preparation, it can be seen as a gendered space in the household and the communities, as these ovens were often communal and places of women's work.

Clark's study identifies the historic Mexican American occupation with the Native American components of the site, but it also deals with labeling and media representation of Mexican Americans in the historic period and by archaeologists. Clark points to conspicuous marked archeologically visible choices and embodiment in marked choices and household practices:

> In a stance similar to that of Siân Jones (1997), I suspect that the residents' choice to build La Placita as a plaza settlement, like many of their other choices, represents a balance between the political assertions of conscious ethnic projects and norms created through shared experience. This would be particularly true of practices that are both highly visible and linked to embodiment, like foodways. The *horno* in the middle of the plaza at La Placita would have indicated to others that these people prepared at least some of their foods in traditional ways. The illustrations accompanying the Camp and Plant article cited above show that the *horno*, like a plaza arrangement, was iconic of Mexicano settlements. Three of the four photographs prominently feature a *horno*. The text suggests that Hispanic women cooked exclusively in *horno*s and were generally incapable of using 'a modern stove' (1903: 223), a claim contradicted both by historic documents (Deutsch 1987) and the remains at La Placita. The residents' choice to cook food in a *horno* was almost certainly charged by the fact that doing so marked them as technologically backward (Clark 2005).

Marked choices made by Mexican American households can indicate that "As subalterns, their traditional practices were interpreted by some as evidence that they were inferior" (Clark 2005). Are traditional practices always seen by the outside as inferior, are they markers of community pride or household power? This needs to be analyzed in the distribution of traditional practices amongst Mexican American communities.

The archaeological, indigenous and European origins of these material and spatial practices, and the gendered analysis of these spaces also need to be considered. Mary Jo Galindo found *hornos* at her dig, but does not analyze the possible gender and class dimensions of those outdoor ovens, even though one was associated with a *jacal* and one was with the main house. But large archaeological features are not the only multi-vocal aspects of food preparation and ceramics at a historic Mexican American site, simple dishes, *manos* and *metates* can also be springboards for nuanced analysis of alterity, gender and age of the people who used them, which is especially useful in historic archaeology where we have some idea of their ethnicity and the continuation of use or disuse of material culture. Close reading of food related artifacts and spaces can show the social life of things, and contest master narratives similar to the reading of the "Social life of the tortilla" by Lind and Barham that shows the contested commoditization and practices behind everyday food. (Lind and Barham 2004)

Material culture and cooking methods help define and identify ethnicity in living societies and in the archaeological record. While ethnicity is hard to see in material assemblages of the distant past, the recent past includes archival and personal references to who lived in any site. Recognizing marked choices and Mexican American material culture goes beyond the politics of whose past should be preserved, it is part of the representation of Mexican American culture to the wider United States audience. Mexican American historic archaeology is an important part of the cultural landscape of the places of a large part of the United States because it is an integral part of this country. In *Theory and Practice of Cultural Heritage Research and Preservation*, Lodimir R Lozny calls for

the preservation of multiple significant contributions to place by different groups in "Landscapes under Pressure". Lozny notes that the sometimes simultaneous and different ways of placemaking at any given space should be examined as part of the shared cultural landscape. Mexican American historical archaeology should consider colonialism, United States history, identity, economics, race, and culture change and comparative archaeological assemblies that are part of the Mexican American contribution to the American Cultural landscape. There is no one Mexican American experience or food way, but rather multiple simultaneous practices and networks that can be considered.

Food practices and choices are just one way Mexican American households can be defined. *Horno*s and bathtub virgins are not the only diagnostic material culture of Mexican American households. Mexican American households were using mass produced items, but was this consumption the same as their Euro-American and other subaltern consumer counterparts? A deeper analysis of consumer practices and media representation needs to be undertaken for the material culture of Mexican American Households similar to the methodology of African-American archaeology. Food preparation and practices are not the only places where race class and gender intersect in Mexican American households, but this material culture does play a critical role in how Mexican American culture has changed and what levels of continuity exist.

Foodways are one way to trace Indigenous and European influences, capitalism and gender and show the interactions of people and things daily life in San Diego. *Pan de Campo* Festivals, *horno*s, or a simple *olla* of beans all show actions: work, consumption, movement through households and communities. These rituals are often not written down

or recorded in histories (Comaroff & Comaroff 1992, Stahl 2001, Wiesmantle). Rodríguez-Alegría also sees food as a form of power in his analysis of cooking vessels and eating styles, and show how different ethnic groups can "eat like Indians" (Rodríguez-Alegría 2005).

Another successful study of food, communities and race is *Race and Affluence* by Paul R. Mullins (1999). Mullins examines the material culture from African American homes in Annapolis, Maryland. This study looks at nineteenth and early twentieth century's consumer patterns and how race affects foodways. Medicine, mineral water and canned foods are some of the foodways examined. How do these foods mark the African American households as different, if they were available to white households? Mullins reads items in African American contexts differently, and shows how race and racism affected consumer habits (Mullins 1999). For Mullins, Praetzellis, Praetzellis and Van Buren, Clark and Galindo, food and food preparation are data that can be analyzed with the lens of social and political history to see trends, conflict and even resistance to hegemony. Historic Archaeology is of critical importance for anthropology because the past is intimately tied to the present. Historic Mexican archaeology is needed to supplement and challenge historic documents especially in food and culinary archaeology.

Congressional hearings, ethnic studies, and historical investigations; the messages in the Plan de San Diego and the diverse reactions to it; and the conspicuous silence in the town regarded as the birthplace of the Plan all speak to the larger social and political importance of this chapter in Texas history. The multiple layers of the Plan and reactions to it should be included in an archaeological study of the events and repercussions of the

Plan de San Diego. The Plan de San Diego has been decried by scholars and pundits as racist or a bizarre call to race war, or viewed as the product of larger nations at war and removed in discussions from the town that bears its name. San Diego exemplifies what Michel-Rolph Trouillot calls a "silenced past" (Trouillot: 26, 28). San Diego is not simply a document, nor is it just a silenced historical chapter and locale of an actively silenced cultural memory. There is a silence of scholarly exploration of the place itself, the people who lived in San Diego, how they identified themselves and carried out their lives is not accessible to researchers interested in this era or region. The aftereffects of the Plan de San Diego changed the previous identities of Mexican Americans, and their tenure ship in Texas. The archaeological site of San Diego shows resistance to the economic and cultural racism of settlers, but it also evidences cultural assimilation and accommodation. Studies of Tejanos or Mexican American formations show waves of colonial disempowerment and the ongoing control over the land and people that forced many populations into less favorable political and economic positions. Remnants of the extensive legal backlash of the Plan toward Mexican Americans, and the political situation that led to the Plan can be seen in the stark outline in San Diego. After the time of the Plan de San Diego, the colonizing groups used the Plan to further their claims to racial and legal superiority as well as to Mexican American lands (Harris 1978; Hager 1963; Coerver 1984; Montejano 1977).

The Plan was denounced as ridiculous, treasonous, and dangerous to Anglos in order to re-enforce land claims established through violence and takings. The Texas Rangers, settlers, and the legal system assaulted the culture, language, religion, and people

of Mexican heritage, including the residents of San Diego, as Harris, Sáenz, and Sandos have pointed out. Archaeology is one way to approach material culture that shows embodied choices that came to define and unify Mexican Americans and illustrates survival in San Diego.

While select archival documentation has been privileged in past studies of San Diego, material culture has been excluded. The making of history and the politics of "doing" public archaeology is one-way of filling in the silenced past, but documenting the material remains of the past does not show how people survived. Paul Shackel is an archaeologist who views the historical record as being reinforced by cultural landscapes, monuments (or lack of monuments), and archaeology. This lack of historical recognition and general lack of scholars dealing with the material aspects of the past is evident in San Diego as there are no monuments to the Plan or the rebellion. Shackel notes the act of doing an archaeological study is important and adds to the history making and memorials available to descendant groups (Shackel 2001: 655). The deliberate engagement of archaeology and the public with multiple lines of evidence is a new approach to the study of Mexican Americans and the material culture of the borderlands. My research connects to this by including archaeology and multiple oral histories to a historically underrepresented subject of archaeological study and gives material evidence about a past in San Diego that would remain silenced until without the analysis on the micro scale of daily life.

There are many ways to incorporate research questions that are racially conscious and engaged with Mexican American populations. By identifying the problems, the lack

of historic recognition of Mexican American households and the lack of Mexican American archaeologists, we can start to look at the lack of recognized contributions by Mexican Americans to historic places. Following Indigenous, Black, Asian and Feminist Archaeology is one way to approach Mexican American Archaeology. Research questions that include the intersections of race, class, gender and age like food practices can also help to redress the lack of representation in archaeological studies while illuminating unique patterns of Mexican American households. There are as many archaeologies as there are archaeologists, the solution to the lack of Mexican American archaeology is incorporating historically accurate site identification and inclusion of local and ethnic descendant groups to create a more inclusive Archaeological field in as many ways possible. By looking at choices in households, foodways and gendered landscapes, we can approach what a Mexican American household looked like, and infer cultural practices once a number of sites have been analyzed for trends and patterns in subsistence and material culture. There is no one experience of the past, and the translation of material culture changes over time. To remain engaged with the present and wider audiences, Archaeology has to grow to encompass different worldviews. The unique aspects of sites and the interaction of people and groups in any community are increasingly important as we look to our recent past to understand our present. The advancement of Mexican American Archaeology can only strengthen the work of historical archaeology in the US, and is a vital way to connect with future students and practitioners of archaeology and historic preservation.

Appendix A

Census 1850

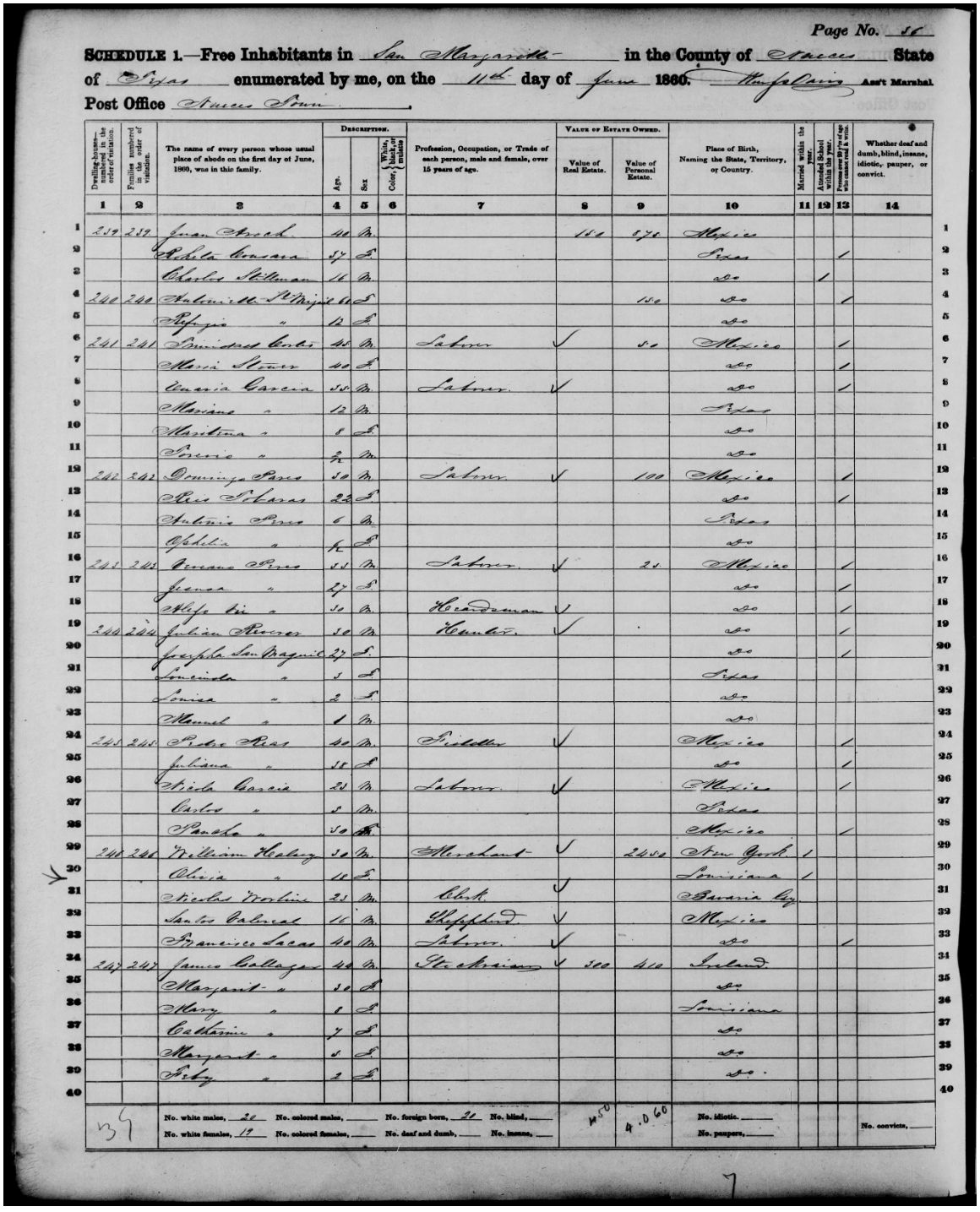
1850	**Nueces County, Texas Included Duval**	
Population		
Total Population	698	
Population Density Per Square Mile	0.1	
Total Area in Square Miles	5,449.09	
Gender		
Total Population:	698	
Male	449	64.3%
Female	249	35.7%
Gender White Population		
White Population:	650	
Male	430	66.2%
Female	220	33.9%
Gender Enslaved and free Blacks		
Total	48	
Male	19	39.6%
Female	29	60.4%

Female (also the only literate person of color recorded at this census)	1	100.0%
Sex By Age		
Total Population:	698	
Male:	449	64.3%
Under 1 Year of Age	11	1.6%
Age 1 to 4 Years	34	4.9%
Age 5 to 9 Years	43	6.2%
Age 10 to 14 Years	32	4.6%
Age 15 to 19 Years	25	3.6%
Age 20 to 29 Years	67	9.6%
Age 30 to 39 Years	67	9.6%
Age 40 to 49 Years	45	6.5%
Age 50 to 59 Years	10	1.4%
Age 60 to 69 Years	6	0.9%
Age 70 to 79 Years	1	0.1%
Age Unknown	108	15.5%
Female:	249	35.7%
Under 1 Year of Age	3	0.4%
Age 0 to 4 Years	39	5.6%
Age 5 to 9 Years	28	4.0%
Age 10 to 14 Years	24	3.4%
Age 15 to 19 Years	29	4.2%
Age 20 to 29 Years	58	8.3%

Age 30 to 39 Years	37	5.3%
Age 40 to 49 Years	20	2.9%
Age 50 to 59 Years	10	1.4%
Age 60 to 69 Years	1	0.1%
Farms	8	
Acres of Land in Farms:	94,983	
Improved Acres of Land in Farms	995	1.1%
Unimproved Acres of Land in Farms	93,988	99.0%
Cash Value of Farms:	$108,268	
Value of Farm Implements And Machinery	$2,125	2.0%
Value of Livestock	$63,360	58.5%
Manufacturing		
People Employed in Manufacturing Establishments	2	
Manufacturing Capital		
Amount of Capital Invested in Manufacturing Establishments	$200	
Value of Manufacturing Output		
Value of Annual Product in Manufacturing Establishments	$1,050	

Figure 52 - Selected 1850 Census data

Census 1860



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SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in San Margarita in the County of Nueces State of Texas enumerated by me, on the 11th day of June 1860. Thos Jolins Ass't Marshal

Post Office Nueces Town

Dwelling-houses numbered in the order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The name of every person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1860, was in this family.	Description: Age.	Sex.	Color, (white, black, or mulatto)	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age.	Value of Estate Owned: Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.	Attended School within the year.	Persons over 20 yrs of age who cannot read & write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
239	239	Juan Ayala	40	M			160	270	Mexico				
		Rebeka Casara	37	F					Texas			1	
		Charles Stillman	16	M					do		1		
240	240	Antonio M. St Mejia	60	M				150	do			1	
		Refugio "	12	F					do				
241	241	Trinidad Cotis	45	M		Labrer	✓	50	Mexico			1	
		Maria Stover	40	F					do			1	
		Ursula Garcia	50	M		Labrer	✓		do			1	
		Mariano "	12	M					Texas				
		Maritina "	8	F					do				
		Sonnie "	4	M					do				
242	242	Domingo Pans	50	M		Labrer	✓	100	Mexico			1	
		Rus Libras	22	F					do			1	
		Antonio Pans	6	M					Texas				
		Obdulia "	4	F					do				
243	243	Ursano Pans	35	M		Labrer	✓	25	Mexico			1	
		Juana "	27	F					do			1	
		Wife Bi "	30	M		Hoeandman	✓		do			1	
244	244	Julian Rivera	30	M		Hunter	✓		do			1	
		Josepha San Magnel	27	F					do			1	
		Lorenda "	5	F					Texas				
		Louisa "	2	F					do				
		Manuel "	1	M					do				
245	245	Pedro Ruiz	40	M		Peddler	✓		Mexico			1	
		Juliana "	38	F					do			1	
		Nicla Garcia	23	M		Labrer	✓		Mexico			1	
		Carlos "	3	M					Texas				
		Pancha "	50	F					Mexico			1	
246	246	William Hosley	30	M		Merchant	✓	2450	New York	1			
		Olivia "	18	F					Louisiana	1			
		Nicolas Morbius	25	M		Clerk	✓		Bavaria Cy				
		Santos Gabriel	11	M		Shipherd	✓		Mexico				
		Francisco Lucas	40	M		Labrer	✓		do			1	
247	247	James Gallagher	46	M		Steersman	✓	300	810	Ireland			
		Margarit "	30	F					do				
		Mary "	4	F					Louisiana				
		Catharine "	7	F					do				
		Margaret "	5	F					do				
		Feby "	2	F					do				

No. white males, 20 No. colored males, ____ No. foreign born, 21 No. blind, ____
No. white females, 17 No. colored females, ____ No. deaf and dumb, ____ No. insane, ____
No. idiotic. ____ No. paupers, ____ No. convicts, ____

Figure 53 - Photocopy of 1860 Census

Census 1870

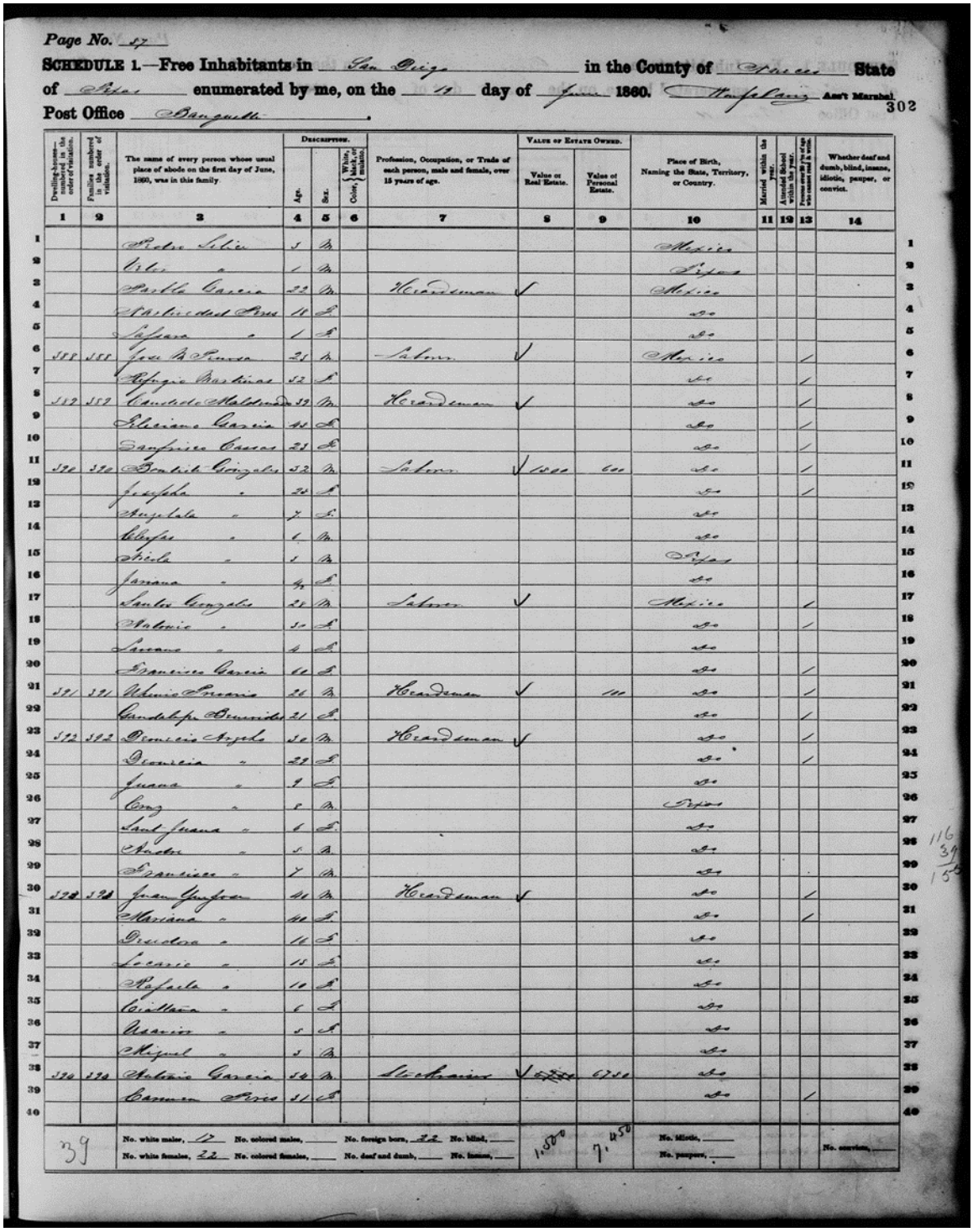
1870	Duval County, Texas	
Population		
Total Population	1,083	
Population Density Per Square Mile	0.7	
Total Area in Square Miles	1,578.44	
Sex		
Total Population:	1,083	
Male	625	57.7%
Female	458	42.3%
Selected Age Groups		
Total Population:	1,083	
Age 5 to 18 Years:	335	30.9%
Male	183	16.9%
Female	152	14.0%
Male Age 18 to 44 Years	250	23.1%
Male Age 21 Years and over	306	28.3%
Race		
Total Population:	1,083	
White	1,080	99.7%
Black	3	0.3%
Nativity		

Total Population:	1,083	
Native Born	393	36.3%
Foreign Born	690	63.7%
Have at Least One Foreign Born Parent	560	51.7%
Have Foreign Born Father Only	21	1.9%
Have Foreign Born Mother Only	27	2.5%
Have Foreign Born Mother And Father	512	47.3%
Place of Birth (Native Born Population)		
Native Born Population:	393	
Alabama	12	3.1%
Georgia	3	0.8%
Louisiana	12	3.1%
Mississippi	3	0.8%
Texas	340	86.5%
Place of Birth (Foreign Born Population)		
Foreign Born:	690	
Austria	1	0.1%
British America	2	0.3%
England And Wales	8	1.2%
France	5	0.7%
German Empire	9	1.3%
Ireland	20	2.9%
México	638	92.5%
Scotland	2	0.3%

Sweden And Norway	1	0.1%
Other Foreign Places of Birth	4	0.6%
Native Places of Birth Unknown or Not Iterated by County	23	2.1%
Farms		
Total Number of Farms:	39	
Farms of 3 to 9 Acres	35	89.7%
Farms of 100 to 499 Acres	4	10.3%
Acres of Land in Farms:	740	
Acres of Improved Land in Farms	740	100.0%
Acres of Land in Farms, Woods and Forests:	54,546	
Acres of Improved Land in Farms	740	1.4%
Acres of Other Unimproved Land (Unimproved Acres of Woods And Forests)	53,806	98.6%
Value of Farms	$19,321	
Farm Implements And Machinery	$300	
Annual Agricultural Wages Paid, Including Value of Board	$2,300	
Total Value of Farm Products and Livestock:	$79,090	
Value of Livestock	$75,735	95.8%
Value of Animals Slaughtered	$3,355	4.2%
Total (Estimated) Value of All Farm Productions, Including Betterment And Addition to Stock	$26,522	

Figure 54 - Selected 1870 Census data

Census 1880



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SCHEDULE 1.—Free Inhabitants in San Diego in the County of Pinal State of Sonora enumerated by me, on the 19 day of June 1880. Thos. Blount Asst Marshal

Post Office Bangudis

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Dwelling-houses—numbered in the order of visitation.	Families numbered in the order of visitation.	The name of every person whose usual place of abode on the first day of June, 1880, was in this family.	Description: Age.	Sex.	Color, white, black, or mulatto.	Profession, Occupation, or Trade of each person, male and female, over 15 years of age.	Value of Estate Owned: Value of Real Estate.	Value of Personal Estate.	Place of Birth, Naming the State, Territory, or Country.	Married within the year.	Attended School within the year.	Person over 20 years of age who cannot read and write.	Whether deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, pauper, or convict.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
		Pedro Soto	3	M					Mexico				
		Urbe "	1	M					Sinaloa				
2		Pablo Cavera	22	M		Herdsman	✓		Mexico				
4		Maria de Jesus "	18	F					do				
5		Lafaro "	1	F					do				
6	188 188	Jose B Pinuza	21	M		Sabon	✓		Mexico			✓	
7		Refugio Bustinas	52	F					do			✓	
8	189 189	Candido Maldonado	32	M		Herdsman	✓		do			✓	
9		Feliciana Garcia	44	F					do			✓	
10		Serafina Cavera	23	F					do			✓	
11	190 190	Benito Gonzales	32	M		Sabon	✓ 1000	600	do			✓	
12		Josefa "	26	F					do			✓	
13		Angela "	7	F					do				
14		Elias "	4	M					do				
15		Sicila "	1	F					Sinaloa				
16		Juliana "	4/12	F					do				
17		Santos Gonzales	21	M		Sabon	✓		Mexico			✓	
18		Antonio "	20	F					do			✓	
19		Lorenzo "	4	F					do				
20		Francisco Cavera	16	F					do			✓	
21	191 191	Alonzo Lorenzo	26	M		Herdsman	✓	100	do			✓	
22		Candelaja Bermudez	21	F					do			✓	
23	192 192	Demecio Angulo	52	M		Herdsman	✓		do			✓	
24		Demecia "	22	F					do			✓	
25		Juana "	9	F					do				
26		Cruz "	8	M					Sinaloa				
27		Sant Juana "	6	F					do				
28		Nacho "	5	M					do				
29		Francisco "	2	M					do				
30	193 193	Juan Gonzales	40	M		Herdsman	✓		do			✓	
31		Mariana "	40	F					do			✓	
32		Dionisia "	14	F					do				
33		Lucrecia "	13	F					do				
34		Rafaela "	10	F					do				
35		Guillerma "	6	F					do				
36		Asuncion "	5	F					do				
37		Miguel "	3	M					do				
38	194 194	Antonio Garcia	54	M		Stockraiser	✓ 6000	6000	do				
39		Carmen Pires	51	F					do			✓	
40													
39		No. white males, 17 No. colored males, ____ No. foreign born, 22 No. blind, ____ No. white females, 22 No. colored females, ____ No. deaf and dumb, ____ No. insane, ____					1.500	7.450	No. idiotic, ____ No. paupers, ____				No. convicts, ____

116
39
1 5

Figure 55 - Photocopy of 1880 Census

1880	Duval County, Texas	
Population		
Total Population	5,732	
Population Density Per Square Mile	3.0	
Total Area in Square Miles	1,896.44	
Gender		
Total Population:	5,732	
Male	3,173	55.4%
Female	2,559	44.6%
Selected Age Groups		
Total Population:	5,732	
Age 5 to 17 Years:	1,745	30.4%
Male	901	15.7%
Female	844	14.7%
Male Age 18 to 44 Years	1,429	24.9%
Male Age 21 Years and over	1,603	28.0%
Race		
Total Population:	5,732	
White	5,687	99.2%
Black	37	0.7%
Indian	8	0.1%
Nativity		

Total Population:	5,732	
Native Born	2,343	40.9%
Foreign Born	3,389	59.1%
State of Birth (Native Born Population)		
Native Born:	2,343	
Alabama	2	0.1%
Arkansas	5	0.2%
Georgia	9	0.4%
Kentucky	3	0.1%
Louisiana	56	2.4%
Mississippi	4	0.2%
Missouri	2	0.1%
Place of Birth (Foreign Born Population)		
Foreign Born:	3,389	
Austria	2	0.1%
British America	3	0.1%
England And Wales	19	0.6%
France	13	0.4%
German Empire	46	1.4%
Ireland	21	0.6%
México	3,253	96.0%
Scotland	7	0.2%
Sweden And Norway	3	0.1%

Other Foreign Places of Birth	22	0.7%
Place of Birth By Nativity		
Total Population:	5,732	
Native Born:	2,343	40.9%
Alabama	2	0.0%
Arkansas	5	0.1%
Georgia	9	0.2%
Kentucky	3	0.1%
Louisiana	56	1.0%
Mississippi	4	0.1%
Missouri	2	0.0%
Tennessee	8	0.1%
Texas	2,148	37.5%
Virginia	10	0.2%
COUNTIES ONLY: Native Places of Birth Unknown or Not Iterated by County	96	1.7%
Farms		
Total Number of Farms:	168	
Owner Operated Farms	165	98.2%
Farms Rented For Fixed Money	2	1.2%
Farms Rented For Shares of Products	1	0.6%
Owner Operated Farms		
Owner Operated Farms:	165	
3 to 9 Acres	1	0.6%

50 to 99 Acres	1	0.6%
100 to 499 Acres	74	44.9%
500 to 999 Acres	16	9.7%
1,000 Acres And Over	73	44.2%
Farms Rented		
Farms Rented For Fixed Money:	2	
3 to 9 Acres	1	50.0%
1,000 Acres And Over	1	50.0%
Farms Rented For Shares of Products:	1	
20 to 49 Acres	1	100.0%
Acreage in Farms		
Total Number of Farms:	168	
Acres of Land in Farms	482,457	
Average Size of Farms in Acres	2,872	
Acres of Improved And Unimproved Land:	482,457	
Total Acres of Improved Land in Farms	6,572	1.4%
Acres of Tilled Improved Land in Farms	3,958	0.8%
Acres of Improved Meadows, Pastures, etc. in Farms	2,614	0.5%
Acres of Unimproved Land in Farms	475,885	98.6%
Acres of Unimproved Woodlands And Forests in Farms	50,126	10.4%
Acres of Other Unimproved Land in Farms	425,759	88.3%
Value of Farmland, Fences, And Buildings	$269,801	

Present Cash Value of Farm Implements And Machinery	$9,227	
Value of Livestock	$554,451	
Cost of Buildings And Repairing Fences	$100	
Bushels of Agricultural Products		
Total Bushels Produced:	$1,367	
Bushels of Indian Corn Produced	$1,117	81.7%
Bushels of Oats Produced	$250	18.3%

Figure 56 - Selected 1880 Census data

Census 1890

1890	**Duval County, Texas**	
Population		
Total Population	7,598	
Population Density Per Square Mile	4.0	
Total Area in Square Miles	1,896.44	
Gender		
Male	3,926	51.7%
Female	3,672	48.3%
Total White Population:	7,591	
Male	3,922	51.7%
Female	3,669	48.3%
Total Native Born Population:	4,265	

Male	2,147	50.3%
Female	2,118	49.7%
Total Foreign Born Population:	3,333	
Male	1,779	53.4%
Female	1,554	46.6%
White Foreign Born Population:	3,332	
Male	1,778	53.4%
Female	1,554	46.6%
White	7,591	99.9%
Black	7	0.1%
Teachers		
Teachers Teaching in Common Schools	13	
Male Teachers	7	53.9%
Female Teachers	6	46.2%
White and Colored Persons Age 5 to 20:	2,498	
White and Colored Students in Common Schools	815	32.6%
Male students	385	15.4%
Female students	430	17.2%
Nativity By Gender		
Total Population:	7,598	
Native Born:	4,265	56.1%
Male	2,147	28.3%
Female	2,118	27.9%
Foreign Born:	3,333	43.9%

Male	1,779	23.4%
Female	1,554	20.5%
Parentage (White Native Born Population)		
White Native Born Population:	4,259	
With Native Born Parents	560	13.2%
With Foreign Born Parents	3,699	86.9%
Foreign Born Place of Birth		
Total Population:	7,598	
Foreign Born:	3,333	43.9%
Austria	2	0.0%
Canada And Newfoundland	6	0.1%
Cuba And The West Indies	1	0.0%
England	12	0.2%
France	12	0.2%
Germany	31	0.4%
México	3,239	42.6%
Russia	2	0.0%
Scotland	5	0.1%
Spain	13	0.2%
Other Countries	1	0.0%
Dwellings		
Dwellings	1,257	
Families		
Families	1,355	

Farm Families	194	14.3%
Nonfarm Families	1,161	85.7%
Farm Families	137	23.3%
Nonfarm Families	450	76.7%
Renter Families:	768	
Farm Families	57	7.4%
Nonfarm Families	711	92.6%
Tenure		
Families:	1,355	
Owner	587	43.3%
Renter	768	56.7%
Farm Families:	194	
Owner	137	70.6%
Renter	57	29.4%
Nonfarm Families:	1,161	
Owner	450	38.8%
Renter	711	61.2%
Families:	1,355	
Owners:	587	43.3%
Free And Clear	586	43.3%
Encumbered	1	0.1%
Renters	768	56.7%
Farm Families:	194	
Owners	137	70.6%

Free And Clear	136	70.1%
Encumbered	1	0.5%
Renters	57	29.4%
Nonfarm Families:	1,161	
Owners	450	38.8%
Free And Clear	450	38.8%
Encumbered	0	0.0%
Renters	711	61.2%
Family Type By Tenure By Mortgage Status		
Families:	1,355	
Farm Families:	194	14.3%
Owners:	137	10.1%
Free And Clear	136	10.0%
Encumbered	1	0.1%
Renters	57	4.2%
Nonfarm Families:	1,161	85.7%
Owners:	450	33.2%
Free And Clear	450	33.2%
Encumbered	0	0.0%
Renters	711	52.5%
Farms By Acreage		
Total Number of Farms:	102	
Farms Less Than 10 Acres	1	1.0%
Farms 10 to 19 Acres	0	0.0%

Farms 20 to 49 Acres	1	1.0%
Farms 50 to 99 Acres	1	1.0%
Farms 100 to 499 Acres	35	34.3%
Farms 500 to 999 Acres	22	21.6%
Farms 1,000 Acres And Over	42	41.2%
Farms By Acreage		
Owner Operated Farms:	101	
Less Than 10 Acres	1	1.0%
20 to 49 Acres	1	1.0%
50 to 99 Acres	1	1.0%
100 to 499 Acres	34	33.7%
500 to 999 Acres	22	21.8%
1,000 Acres And Over	42	41.6%
Cash Rent Tenant Farms:	1	
100 to 499 Acres	1	100.0 %
500 to 999 Acres	0	0.0%
1,000 Acres And Over	0	0.0%
50 to 99 Acres	0	
100 to 499 Acres	0	
500 to 999 Acres	0	
1,000 Acres And Over	0	
Average Farm Size		
Average Size of Farms in Acres	2,898	

Total Acres of Farm Land Improved And Unimproved:	295,609	
Acres of Improved Land in Farms	4,331	1.5%
Acres of Unimproved Land in Farms	291,278	98.5%
Value of Farm		
Value of Farmland, Fences, And Buildings	$692,400	
Total Value of Encumbered Homes And Farms:	$75,000	
Total Value of Encumbered Farms	$75,000	100.0%
Total Value of Encumbered Homes	$0	0.0%
Total Mortgage Value of Encumbered Homes And Farms: (1)	$46,500	
Total Mortgage Value of Encumbered Farms	$46,500	100.0%
Total Mortgage Value of Encumbered Homes	$0	0.0%
Present Cash Value of Farm Implements And Machinery	$4,490	
Estimated Value of Farm Products in 1889	$31,760	
Average Value of Farmland, Fences, And Buildings	$6,788	
Average Cash Value of Farm Implements And Machinery	$44	
Value of Livestock:	$293,640	
Average Value of Livestock Per Farm	$2,879	
Average Estimated Value of Farm Products Per Farm in 1889	$311	

Acres of Agricultural Products Planted		
Total Number of Acres Planted:	1,106	
Acres Planted in Indian Corn	1,104	99.8%
Acres Planted in Oats	2	0.2%
Bushels of Agricultural Products		
Total Bushels of Agricultural Products Produced:	22,905	
Bushels of Indian Corn Produced	22,825	99.7%
Bushels of Oats Produced	80	0.4%

Figure 57 - Selected 1890 Census Data

Census 1900

1900	Duval County, Texas	
Population		
Total Population	8,483	
Population Density Per Square Mile	4.5	
Total Area in Square Miles	1,896.44	
Area (square miles)		
Total Area in Square Miles	1,896.44	
Sex		
Total Population:	8,483	
Male	4,289	50.6%
Female	4,194	49.4%
White Population:	8,471	

Male	4,284	50.6%
Female	4,187	49.4%
Black Population:	12	
Male	5	41.7%
Female	7	58.3%
Native Born:	5,795	
Male	2,848	49.2%
Female	2,947	50.9%
Foreign Born:	2,688	
Male	1,441	53.6%
Female	1,247	46.4%
Race		
Population 5 to 20 Years of Age:	3,578	
White	3,575	99.9%
Black	3	0.1%
Nativity By Parentage By Sex		
White Population:	8,471	
Native Born:	5,783	68.3%
Native Born With Native Born Parents:	982	11.6%
Male	505	6.0%
Female	477	5.6%
Native Born With Foreign Born Parents:	4,801	56.7%
Male	2,338	27.6%
Female	2,463	29.1%

Foreign Born:	2,688	31.7%
Male	1,441	17.0%
Female	1,247	14.7%
Place of Birth		
Total Population:	8,483	
Foreign Born:	2,688	31.7%
English Canada	4	0.1%
Denmark	2	0.0%
England	6	0.1%
France	2	0.0%
Germany	23	0.3%
Ireland	6	0.1%
México	2,628	31.0%
Norway	2	0.0%
Scotland	3	0.0%
Spain	7	0.1%
West Indies	1	0.0%
Born at Sea	1	0.0%
Other Countries	3	0.0%
Literacy		
Total Population:	8,483	
Illiterate Population Age 10 and over	2,952	34.8%
White:	2,952	34.8%
Native Born	1,439	17.0%

Native Born With Native Born Parents	108	1.3%
Native Born With Foreign Born Parents	1,331	15.7%
Foreign Born	1,513	17.8%
Male 21 Years of Age And Over:	1,885	
Illiterate Male 21 Years of Age And Over	862	45.7%
Literate Male 21 Years of Age And Over	1,023	54.3%
Native Born Male 21 And Over:	679	
Illiterate:	217	32.0%
White	217	32.0%
Literate:	462	68.0%
White	460	67.8%
Black	2	0.3%
Illiterate Native Born Males Age 21 And Over:	217	
Foreign Born Male 21 And Over:	1,206	
Illiterate:	645	53.5%
Naturalized	31	2.6%
Who Filed First Papers	351	29.1%
Alien	218	18.1%
With Unknown Citizenship Status	45	3.7%
Literate:	561	46.5%
Naturalized	43	3.6%
Who Filed First Papers	245	20.3%
Alien	222	18.4%
With Unknown Citizenship Status	51	4.2%

Number of Dwellings		
Number of Dwellings	1,519	
Families		
Number of Families	1,586	
Family Type		
Total Number of Private Families:	1,573	
Farm Families	361	23.0%
Nonfarm Families	1,212	77.1%
Owner Families:	627	
Farm Families	261	41.6%
Nonfarm Families	366	58.4%
Renter Families:	638	
Farm Families	98	15.4%
Nonfarm Families	540	84.6%
Tenure Unknown	308	19.6%
Nonfarm Families:	1,212	
Owner	366	30.2%
Renter	540	44.6%
Tenure Unknown	306	25.3%
Tenure By Mortgage Status		
Total Number of Private Families:	1,573	
Owner:	627	39.9%
Free and Clear	383	24.4%
Encumbered	14	0.9%

Encumbrance Status Unknown	230	14.6%
Renter	638	40.6%
Tenure Unknown	308	19.6%
Farm Families:	361	
Owner:	261	72.3%
Free and Clear	227	62.9%
Encumbered	8	2.2%
Encumbrance Status Unknown	26	7.2%
Renter	98	27.2%
Tenure Unknown	2	0.6%
Tenure By Mortgage Status (Non-Farm Families)		
Nonfarm Families:	1,212	
Owner:	366	30.2%
Free And Clear	156	12.9%
Encumbered	6	0.5%
Encumbrance Status Unknown	204	16.8%
Renter	540	44.6%
Tenure Unknown	306	25.3%
Mortgage Status (Owner Families)		
Owner Families:	627	
Free And Clear	383	61.1%
Encumbered	14	2.2%
Encumbrance Status Unknown	230	36.7%
Mortgage Status (Owner Farm Families)		

Owner Farm Families:	261	
Free And Clear	227	87.0%
Encumbered	8	3.1%
Encumbrance Status Unknown	26	10.0%
Mortgage Status (Owner Nonfarm Families)		
Owner Nonfarm Families:	366	
Free And Clear	156	42.6%
Encumbered	6	1.6%
Encumbrance Status Unknown	204	55.7%
Family Type By Tenure By Mortgage Status		
Total Number of Families:	1,573	
Farm Families:	361	23.0%
Owner:	261	16.6%
Free And Clear	227	14.4%
Encumbered	8	0.5%
Encumbrance Status Unknown	26	1.7%
Renters	98	6.2%
Tenure Unknown	2	0.1%
Nonfarm Families:	1,212	77.1%
Owner:	366	23.3%
Free And Clear	156	9.9%
Encumbered	6	0.4%
Encumbrance Status Unknown	204	13.0%
Renters	540	34.3%

Tenure Unknown	306	19.5%
Private Families		
Families:	1,586	
Private Families	1,573	99.2%
Non-Private Families	13	0.8%
Total Population:	8,483	
Persons in Private Families	8,430	99.4%
Farms		
Total Number of Farms	363	
Farm Owners	230	63.4%
Part Owners of Farms	21	5.8%
Owners And Tenants of Farms	2	0.6%
Farm Managers	14	3.9%
Cash Tenants	31	8.5%
Share Tenants	65	17.9%
Farm Owners	230	63.4%
Part Owners of Farms	21	5.8%
Owners And Tenants of Farms	2	0.6%
Farm Managers	14	3.9%
Cash Tenants	31	8.5%
Share Tenants	65	17.9%
Farms By Acreage		
Total Number of Farms:	363	
Farms of 1-2 Acres	1	0.3%

Farms of 3-9 Acres	9	2.5%
Farms of 10-19 Acres	45	12.4%
Farms of 20-49 Acres	59	16.3%
Farms of 50-99 Acres	40	11.0%
Farms of 100-174 Acres	69	19.0%
Farms of 175-259 Acres	24	6.6%
Farms of 260-499 Acres	22	6.1%
Farms of 500-999 Acres	19	5.2%
Farms of 1,000 Acres And Over	75	20.7%
Average Farm Size		
Average Size of Farms in Acres	2,008	
Farms With Buildings		
Total Number of Farms:	363	
Total Number of Farms With Buildings	329	90.6%
Improved/Unimproved Farm Land		
Total Number of Acres of Land in Farms:	728,911	
Acres of Improved Land in Farms	15,090	2.1%
Acres of Unimproved Land in Farms	713,821	97.9%
Value of Farm		
Value of Farmland And Improvements Excluding Buildings	$1,186,860	
Value of Farm Buildings	$78,480	
Value of Farm Implements And Machinery	$22,430	
Value of All Farm Output		

Value of Farm Products	$234,319	
Value of Livestock	$583,314	
Farm Labor Expenditure		
Expenditure For Farm Labor	$18,130	
Average Value of Farmland And Improvements Excluding Buildings		
Average Value of Farmland And Improvements Excluding Buildings	$3,270	
Average Value of Farm Buildings	$216	
Average Value of Farm Implements And Machinery	$62	
Average Value of All Farm Output		
Average Value of All Farm Output	$646	
Average Value of Livestock		
Average Value of Livestock	$1,607	
Manufacturing Establishments		
Manufacturing Establishments	7	
Manufacturing Capital		
Total Capital Invested in Manufacturing:	$10,120	
Capital Invested in Plant Land of Manufacturing Establishments	$1,420	14.0%
Capital Invested in Building of Manufacturing Establishments	$950	9.4%
Capital Invested in Machinery, Tools, Equipment of Manufacturing Establishments	$2,925	28.9%

Capital Invested in The Form of Cash And Sundries of Manufacturing Establishments	$4,825	47.7%
Proprietors And Firm Members of Manufacturing Establishments	6	
Salaried Officials, Clerks, etc. in Manufacturing	$1	
Salaries of Salaried Officials, Clerks, etc. in Manufacturing	$520	
Average Manufacturing Salaries of Officials and Clerks in Manufacturing		
Average Salaries of Salaried Officials, Clerks, etc. in Manufacturing	$520	
Total Annual Wages By Age of Wage Workers		
Total Annual Wages of Wage Earners in Manufacturing Establishment:	$1,324	
Annual Wages of Workers 16 Years Old And Older in Manufacturing Establishment:	$1,324	100.0%
Male	$1,324	100.0%
Female	$0	0.0%
Annual Wages of Children Under 16 Years of Age Wage Earners in Manufacturing	$0	0.0%
Annual Wages of Workers 16 Years Old And Older in Manufacturing Establishment:	$1,324	
Male	$1,324	100.0%
Female	$0	0.0%

Miscellaneous Expenses of Manufacturing	$499	
Rent of Works in Manufacturing Costs	$210	
Taxes Excluding Internal Revenue in Manufacturing	$47	
Rental of Offices, Interest, etc. in Manufacturing	$242	
Total Costs in Manufacturing:	$6,452	
Cost of Materials Used	$6,452	100.0%
Cost of Principle Materials Used	$6,383	98.9%
Cost of Fuel, Power And Heat Used	$69	1.1%
Manufacturing Output Value		
Value of Products in Manufacturing	$14,509	
Area in Square Miles		
Land Surface Area in Square Miles	1,887	

Figure 58 - Selected 1900 Census Data

Census 1910

1910	**Duval County, Texas**	
Total Population		
Total Population	8,964	
Population Density Per Square Mile	4.7	
Total Area in Square Miles	1,896.44	
Male	4,588	51.2%
Female	4,376	48.8%

White:	8,956	
Male	4,586	51.2%
Female	4,370	48.8%
Black:	8	
Male	2	25.0%
Female	6	75.0%
Age 6 to 20		
6 to 20 Years of Age:	3,334	
6 to 9 Years of Age	972	29.2%
10 to 14 Years of Age	1,185	35.5%
15 to 17 Years of Age	592	17.8%
18 to 20 Years of Age	585	17.6%
Race By Sex		
Total Population:	8,964	
White:	8,956	99.9%
Male	4,586	51.2%
Female	4,370	48.8%
Black:	8	0.1%
Male	2	0.0%
Female	6	0.1%
Other Race	0	0.0%
Race By Nativity (Population Age 6 to 14 Years)		
Population 6 to 14 Years of Age:	2,157	

White:	2,157	100.0 %
Native Born:	1,995	92.5%
of Native Parentage	615	28.5%
of Mixed Parentage	1,380	64.0%
Foreign Born	162	7.5%
Population 10 Years of Age And Over:	6,473	
White 10 Years of Age And Over:	6,468	99.9%
Native Born	4,311	66.6%
Foreign Born	2,157	33.3%
Black Population 10 Years of Age And Over	5	0.1%
Parentage (White Population)		
Native Born White Population:	6,661	
of Native Parentage	1,879	28.2%
of Foreign Parentage	3,025	45.4%
of Mixed (Native And Foreign) Parentage	1,757	26.4%
Native Born White Male of Voting Age:	2,686	
of Native Parentage	191	7.1%
of Foreign Parentage	738	27.5%
of Mixed (Native And Foreign) Parentage	1,757	65.4%
Citizenship Status (Foreign Born White Male of Voting Age)		
Foreign Born White Male of Voting Age:	1,050	
Naturalized	405	38.6%

With First Papers	117	11.1%
Aliens	401	38.2%
Unknown Citizenship Status	127	12.1%
Literacy (Population Age 10 And Over)		
Total Population 10 Years of Age and Over:	6,473	
Illiterate Population 10 Years of Age And Over	2,382	36.8%
Literate Population 10 Years of Age And Over	4,091	63.2%
White Population 10 Years of Age And Over:	6,468	
Illiterate White 10 Years of Age And Over:	2,381	36.8%
Native Born	1,339	20.7%
Foreign Born	1,042	16.1%
Literate White 10 Years of Age And Over:	4,087	63.2%
Native Born	2,972	46.0%
Foreign Born	1,115	17.2%
Illiterate White Foreign Born 10 Years of Age And Over	1,042	48.3%
Literate White Foreign Born 10 Years of Age And Over	1,115	51.7%
Black Population 10 Years of Age And Over:	5	
Illiterate Black Population 10 Years of Age And Over	1	20.0%
Literate Black Population 10 Years of Age And Over	4	80.0%
Illiterate Population 10 Years of Age And Over:	2,382	
Illiterate White Population 10 Years of Age And Over:	2,381	100.0 %
Native Born	1,339	56.2%

Foreign Born	1,042	43.7%
Illiterate Black Population 10 Years of Age And Over	1	0.0%
Other Races	0	0.0%
Illiterate White 10 Years of Age And Over:	2,381	
Illiterate White Native Born 10 Years of Age And Over	1,339	56.2%
Illiterate White Foreign Born 10 Years of Age And Over	1,042	43.8%
White Foreign Born Male Population of Voting Age:	1,050	
Illiterate White Foreign Born Male of Voting Age	447	42.6%
Literate White Foreign Born Male of Voting Age	603	57.4%
Black Male Population of Voting Age:	2	
Illiterate Black Male of Voting Age	1	50.0%
Literate Black Male of Voting Age	1	50.0%
School Attendance By Age (Total Age 6 to 20)		
Total Age 6 to 20:	3,334	
Attending School:	1,289	38.7%
6 to 9 Years of Age	297	8.9%
10 to 14 Years of Age	757	22.7%
15 to 17 Years of Age	202	6.1%
18 to 20 Years of Age	33	1.0%
Not Attending School:	2,045	61.3%
6 to 9 Years of Age	675	20.3%
10 to 14 Years of Age	428	12.8%
15 to 17 Years of Age	390	11.7%

18 to 20 Years of Age	552	16.6%
Black Population Age 6 to 14:	0	
Black Population Age 6 to 14 Attending School	0	
Place of Birth (White Population)		
Total White Population:	8,956	
Foreign Born White:	2,295	25.6%
Born in Canada:	1	0.0%
Born in Turkey:	1	0.0%
Born in Belgium	1	0.0%
Born in Denmark	1	0.0%
Born in England	6	0.1%
Born in France	3	0.0%
Born in Germany	15	0.2%
Born in Ireland	4	0.0%
Born in Italy	3	0.0%
Born in México	2,235	25.0%
Born in Norway	2	0.0%
Born in Russia	5	0.1%
Born in Scotland	4	0.0%
Born in Spain	9	0.1%
Born in Other Countries	5	0.1%
Native Born White	6,661	74.4%
T44. Place of Birth of Parents (White Population)		
Total White Population:	8,956	

Native Born White of Foreign Parentage:	3,025	33.8%
Both Parents Born in England	4	0.0%
Both Parents Born in France	2	0.0%
Both Parents Born in Germany	23	0.3%
Both Parents Born in Hungary	2	0.0%
Both Parents Born in Ireland	11	0.1%
Both Parents Born in Italy	4	0.0%
Both Parents Born in Norway	1	0.0%
Both Parents Born in Russia	6	0.1%
Both Parents Born in Scotland	4	0.0%
Both Parents Born in Switzerland	1	0.0%
Both Parents Born in Other Countries	2,967	33.1%
Native Born White With Mixed Parentage or With Native Parentage	3,636	40.6%
Foreign Born White	2,295	25.6%
Both Parents Born in Other Countries	2,967	98.1%
Dwelling Units		
Number of Dwelling Units	1,656	
Families		
Number of Families	1,710	
Farm Families	653	38.2%
Non-farm Families	1,057	61.8%
Owner Families:	957	
Farm Families	417	43.6%

Non-farm Families	540	56.4%
Renter Families:	705	
Farm Families	225	31.9%
Non-farm Families	480	68.1%
Tenure Status Unknown	48	2.8%
Farm Families:	653	
Owner	417	63.9%
Renter	225	34.5%
Tenure Status Unknown	11	1.7%
Other Nonfarm Families:	1,057	
Owner	540	51.1%
Renter	480	45.4%
Tenure Status Unknown	37	3.5%
Tenure By Mortgage Status		
Number of Families:	1,710	
Owner:	957	56.0%
Free and Clear	900	52.6%
With Encumbrance	31	1.8%
With Encumbrance Unknown	26	1.5%
Hired or Rented	705	41.2%
With Tenure Status Unknown	48	2.8%
Tenure By Mortgage Status (Farm Families)		
Farm Families:	653	
Owner:	417	63.9%

Free and Clear	402	61.6%
With Encumbrance	5	0.8%
With Encumbrance Unknown	10	1.5%
Hired or Rented	225	34.5%
With Tenure Status Unknown	11	1.7%
Other Nonfarm Families:	1,057	
Owner:	540	51.1%
Owned Free And Clear	498	47.1%
Owned With Encumbrance	26	2.5%
With Encumbrance Unknown	16	1.5%
Hired or Rented	480	45.4%
With Tenure Status Unknown	37	3.5%
Mortgage Status (Owner Families)		
Owner Families:	957	
Free And Clear	900	94.0%
Encumbered	31	3.2%
Encumbrance Status Unknown	26	2.7%
Owner Farm Families:	417	
Free And Clear	402	96.4%
Encumbered	5	1.2%
Encumbrance Status Unknown	10	2.4%
Owner Nonfarm Families:	540	
Free And Clear	498	92.2%
Encumbered	26	4.8%

Encumbrance Status Unknown	16	3.0%
Renters	480	28.1%
Tenure Unknown	37	2.2%
Farms By Race By Nativity		
Total Number of Farms:	633	
Farms of White Farmers:	633	100.0 %
Native Born	298	47.1%
Foreign Born	335	52.9%
Farms of Blacks And Other Race	0	0.0%
Total Owner Operated Farms:	379	
White Farm Owners:	379	100.0 %
Native Born	165	43.5%
Foreign Born	214	56.5%
Black And Other Non-White Farm Owners	0	0.0%
Owner Operated Farms By Nativity (White Farm Owners)		
White Farm Owners:	379	
Native Born	165	43.5%
Foreign Born	214	56.5%
Rented Farms By Race of Tenants By Nativity		
Number of Farms Operated By Tenants:	249	

Farms Operated By White Tenants:	249	100.0 %
Native Born	129	51.8%
Foreign Born	120	48.2%
Farms Operated By Black And Other Non-White Tenants	0	0.0%
Farms By Acreage		
Total Number of Farms:	633	
Farms Below Three Acres	0	0.0%
Farms of 3-9 Acres	6	1.0%
Farms of 10-19 Acres	31	4.9%
Farms of 20-49 Acres	164	25.9%
Farms of 50-99 Acres	131	20.7%
Farms of 100-174 Acres	110	17.4%
Farms of 175-259 Acres	36	5.7%
Farms of 260-499 Acres	39	6.2%
Farms of 500-999 Acres	28	4.4%
Farms of 1,000 Acres And Over	88	13.9%
Farms By Tenure		
Total Number of Farms:	633	
Farms Operated By Owners	379	59.9%
Farms Operated By Tenants	249	39.3%
Farms Operated By Managers	5	0.8%

Farms By Tenure By Ownership/Method of Payment		
Total Number of Farms:	633	
Farms Operated By Owners:	379	59.9%
Consisting of Owned Land Only	353	55.8%
Consisting of Owned And Hired Land in Farms	26	4.1%
Farms Operated By Tenants:	249	39.3%
Share Tenants	235	37.1%
Share-Cash Tenants	1	0.2%
Cash Tenants	9	1.4%
Tenants, Tenure Not Specified	4	0.6%
Farms Operated By Managers	5	0.8%
Farms By Method of Payment (Farms Operated By Tenants)		
Farms Operated By Tenants:	249	
Share Tenants	235	94.4%
Share-Cash Tenants	1	0.4%
Cash Tenants	9	3.6%
Tenants, Tenure Not Specified	4	1.6%
Acreage By Farm Tenure		
Acres of Land in Farms:	509,845	
Acres Operated By Owners	476,020	93.4%
Acres Operated By Tenants	26,021	5.1%
Acres Operated By Managers	7,804	1.5%

Improved/Unimproved Acres of Land By Farm Tenure		
Acres of Land in Farms:	509,845	
Improved Acres of Land in Farms:	42,397	8.3%
Operated By Owners	30,768	6.0%
Operated By Tenants	11,414	2.2%
Operated By Managers	215	0.0%
Unimproved Acres of Land in Farms:	467,448	91.7%
Operated By Owners	445,252	87.3%
Operated By Tenants	14,607	2.9%
Operated By Managers	7,589	1.5%
Improved Acres of Land By Farm Tenure		
Improved Acres of Land in Farms:	42,397	
Operated By Owners	30,768	72.6%
Operated By Tenants	11,414	26.9%
Operated By Managers	215	0.5%
Unimproved Acres of Land By Farm Tenure		
Unimproved Acres of Land In Farms:	467,448	
Operated By Owners	445,252	95.3%
Operated By Tenants	14,607	3.1%
Operated By Managers	7,589	1.6%
Value of Farms By Tenure (Land And Building on Farms)		

Value of Land And Building on Farms:	$2,429,300	
Value For Farms Operated By Owners	$2,107,916	86.8%
Value For Farms Operated By Tenants	$278,284	11.5%
Value For Farms Operated By Managers	$43,100	1.8%
Value of Crops		
Value of All Crops:	$268,044	
Value of Cereals	$7,438	2.8%
Value of Other Grains And Seeds	$62	0.0%
Value of Hay And Forage	$6,791	2.5%
Value of Vegetables	$1,259	0.5%
Value of Fruits And Nuts	$44	0.0%
Value of All Other Crops	$252,450	94.2%
Average Value of Farms		
Average Value of Farms (Land And Buildings on Farms)	$3,838	
Average Value of Farms Operated By Owners	$5,562	
Average Value of Farms Operated By Tenants	$1,118	
Average Value of Farms Operated By Managers	$8,620	
Average Value of All Crops Per Farm	$423	

Figure 59 - Selected 1910 Census Data

Appendix B

Garcia House **Attic inventory**

amount	description	Brand	Date	type
	flat box			storage
	stockings			clothing
	socks			clothing
	throw			linens
	glass beads			crafts
	ruler	Nixon blueprint ruler		school supplies
	clear glass ashtray 2 holes			smoking
	rhinestone hair comb			hair
	framed print girl with umbrella black gold			art
	perfume vial with stopper	mazy		toiletries
	files			accounting
	mail		1942	postal
	receipts		1942	receipts
	Newspaper	Galveston News	1946	newspaper
	rags			sewing notions
	fabric			sewing notions
	shirts			clothing-male
	slips			clothing-female
	string tied box			containers
	photo of priests			photography
	photo of water tower			photography
	tissues			household goods
	jewelry box			containers
	coins			coins
	shells			natural materials
	buttons			sewing notions
	mirror			toiletries
	El por venier			newspaper
	seeds			farm
	rouge kiss proof			toiletries
	Jewelry box			containers
	tiny holy water font			religious items
	bank			receipts
	receipt		1958	receipts
	Mexican coins	centavos		coins
	stick of gum			food
	sacred heart medal			religious items

	marble			child items
	skeleton key			household goods
	buttons			sewing notions
	face powder	Princess pat		toiletries
	glass egg painted with flowers			household goods
	broken green bowl			kitchen items
	leather baby sandals			baby items
	baby socks			baby items
	coins	US pennies	1937	coins
	wheat penny	US pennies	1938	coins
	plastic head bands			costume jewelry
	ceramic box			containers
	stack of photos			photography
	Newspaper		1932	newspaper
	gloves			clothing-female
	undeveloped exposed film			photography
	wall plug			household repair
	leather wallet			clothing-male
	beaded fabric			sewing notions
	red rosary			religious items
	tax receipt		1930	receipts
	death notice	Cavasos		postal
	rock			natural materials
	tango dancing couple compact			toiletries
	glass box	Gillette		containers
	red box flower "deAmor"	DeAmor		perfume
	nail polish coral	Cutex		toiletries
	fighting letter from Chalo to Pinkie			postal
	Cutex nail set			bathroom items
	box of glass beads	Evangeline hotel Lafayette		sewing notions
	spool of thread			sewing notions
	watch box w chain	lord Elgin		costume jewelry
	fleur perfume	DeAmor		toiletries
	straight pins			sewing notions
	mirrored cigar box			smoking
	white daisies metal beaded bag			clothing-female
	metal mesh bag red			clothing-female
	red plastic bottles			kitchen items
	buttons			sewing notions
	spools of thread			sewing notions
	box compact and lipstick			toiletries
	polvo - powder	florisol		toiletries
	bill from Monterrey Hospital			medical
	letter		1946	postal
	photos			photos

	small box tied w string			
	shaving lotion	seaforth for men		toiletries
	box of box tops	Rinso		coupons
	cleanser	Old Dutch		cleaning items
	shampoo			bathroom items
	loose beads			sewing notions
	plunger			bathroom items
	ice cube tray			kitchen items
	green ceramic bath tiles			household goods
	white and orange swirled ceramic bowl			kitchen items
	toy			child items
	molincillo			Mexican cooking utensils
	teaspoons			kitchen items
	molincillo			Mexican cooking utensils
	shaving brush			toiletries
	rustic Mexican Tray			kitchen items
	glass vanity tray			household goods
	razor			toiletries
	pink frosted glass beads			sewing notions
	red beans			natural materials
	razors			toiletries
	buttons			sewing notions
	graduated set of glass pearls			costume jewelry
	bluing	Stewart's		laundry
	honey and almond cream	Heinz		food
	cold shaving solution	Portrait		toiletries
	Bee and Roach Killer green bottle			poison
	mail		1944-46	postal
	San Antonio Light Newspaper		1944	newspaper
	photo of baby - Mary Ally			photo
	101 hints for a slimmer physique			book
	Mexican cigarettes carton			smoking
2	plastic combs			hair
	sombrero			Mexican clothing
	Ale bottle	Bohemia		Alcoholic beverages
	lotion	Absorbine Jr.		toiletries
	Hydrogen peroxide			household chemicals
	lotion	Vicks		toiletries
	nut pick			kitchen items
	Gar fish bone			Hunting
4	eyeglasses			glasses
	loose coins			Mexican coins
	cigarette box and card			smoking

	jockstrap			athletic apparel
	swan planter			gardening
	zip pouch			toiletries
	reptile eggs			natural materials
	face powder olive #2	winter rose		toiletries
	bog of coins			Mexican coins
	silverware box			kitchen items
	small 2 sided mirror			bathroom items
	1924 man on balcony photo		1924	household items
2	combs			hair
	red bangle bracelet			costume jewelry
	fountain pen			writing
	box of buttons			sewing notions
	Houston Chronicle		1943	newspapers
	flat box			household items
	winter clothes			clothing
	long underwear			men's clothing
	wool coats			women's clothing
	San Antonio Light Newspaper		1942	newspapers
	mission Times		1942	newspapers
	San Antonio Express		1929	Newspapers
	Bags	OG Garcia		Military
	doilies			household items
	tissues			toiletries
	proposal to Pinky			letters
	HS diploma envelope			Education
	Elizardo report card			Education
	blueprints of St. Mary church freer			Drafting
24	box of Karo syrup	Karo		food
	Newspaper		1936	newspapers
	outdoor lamp			gardening
	framed print three wishes for bride			decorative items
	framed garden print			decorative items
	wood shelf brackets			decorative items
	oval floral arranging tray			floral arranging
	drinking glass			kitchen items
	tomato seed		1925	gardening
	magazine	Modern Pricilla	1925	magazines
	imperial sugar cloth bag			feed sacks
	rags			feed sacks
	DDT roach killer			household chemicals
	table cloth			kitchen items
	shoe bags			clothing
	arm and hammer soda			household chemicals
	pineapple shaped ice bucket			kitchen items

	turned wood bowl			kitchen items
36	starch	faultless		household chemicals
	Household Magazine		1936 Nov	magazines
	cheesecloth			kitchen items
	stockings			women's clothing
	fabric bag			women's clothing
	gingham bib apron			women's clothing
	yellow belt			women's clothing
	handkerchief			sewing notions
	floral cloth scraps			sewing notions
	doilies			sewing notions
	embroidered doilies			sewing notions
	crazy quilt			quilts
	back brace	Curtis		men's clothing
	worn stockings			women's clothing
	molincillo			fitness
	fountain print			decorative items
	ball jars			canning
	book samples	Dallas		shop goods
	large eraser			Drafting
	novo evaporated milk			food
	button shirts			men's clothing
	seersucker dress			women's clothing
	cellophane			wrapping
	stained runner			kitchen items
	3 dresses small			women's clothing
	roll war dept. paper			Military
	embroidery hoops	Duchess		sewing notions
	sheer polka dot dress			women's clothing
	slips			women's clothing
	1941 Building draft			Drafting
	Blueprints	Daniel B Purvis's Dwelling		Drafting
	wood bowl			kitchen items
	Galveston news		1946	newspaper
	vase			floral arranging
	enameled pan			kitchen items
	Oleo box	Parkay		food
	Paste Wax	Johnson's		household chemicals
	Duval County facts		1938	newspapers
	Memorial day Regis theater paper			newspapers
	Bungee exerciser			fitness
	light set			decorative items
	Joskees ad		1939	newspapers
	box for used razors			toiletries
	photo negatives			photography

	his and hers napkins			linens
	initial handkerchiefs E			linens
	Men's dresser set			toiletries
	2 brass combs			hair
	Bartlett Pears box			food
	curtains			linens
	doilies			linens
	napkins			linens
	millinery			sewing notions
	purple cloche			women's clothing
	gold front tie pin			men's clothing
	quilt backing			quilts
	lavender art deco cigar box			smoking
	horse box metallic			decorative items
	wedding announcement Tocho and Sophia		1929	mail
	Knife			kitchen items
	hat pin			costume jewelry
	glass coil			school supplies
	tie pin			costume jewelry
	shoe horn			household items
	Gillette razor			toiletries
	Vellum	Eaton's		paper
	wedding announcement San Juana and Elizardo			mail
6	ink bottles			writing
	silver color shaving box			toiletries
	purple hat			women's clothing
	black pill box			women's clothing
	black straw			women's clothing
	shotgun shells	Winchester 12		Hunting
	giant safety pin			sewing notions
	bullets	WRACO 30ct		Hunting
	Asian coin			Foreign coins
	cereal box	Post toasties		food
	cereal box	Quaker Puffed		food
	Rice	C B cooper "champion rice"		food
	Wooden cube 18"			household goods
	embroidered towels "to wash"			linens
	Green dish with pointed lid			kitchen items
	White mug			kitchen items
	Mexican vase			Mexican imports
	Luxor powder in box			toiletries
	green glass loose powder holder			toiletries
	DuPont Pyraline yellow container			kitchen items
	receipts	1930-41		receipts
	lacquer box with Persephone depiction			household goods

	bullets			Hunting
	coins			Mexican coins
	pins			sewing notions
	pins wrapped in tissue			sewing notions
	buttons			sewing notions
	razors			toiletries
	leather razor case			toiletries
	sorority linen box			linens
	Rios jewelers box			costume jewelry
	tie clip		1903	costume jewelry
	pins			sewing notions
	notes		1917	writing
	letters and cards			writing
	plaster frame curved glass			decorative items
	Baptismal certificate with changed date		1874 1875	records
	Portrait Chalo		1935	photography
	handkerchiefs in package			linens
	Wrights Bias fold			household items
	Crochet doilies			linens
	wallet with cards and bill			men's clothing
	Joskees metal charger plate			kitchen items
	Photo postcard Monterrey			travel - Mexico
	Jesus thermometer			religious items
	cardboard box			household items
	round filigree metal pin			costume jewelry
	buttons			sewing notions
	blue and white glass marble			toys
	framed flower picture			decorative items
	embroidery hoops			sewing notions
	rectangular glass box			toiletries
	unopened dusting powder	van tines carnation		toiletries
	fleur perfume			toiletries
	wallet ES Garcia		1928	men's clothing
	Hollywood buttons on card			sewing notions
	cut glass stopper			household items
	Mexican ring box with feet			travel - Mexico
	novelty dress set of buttons			sewing notions
	Belt buckle Czechoslovakia			sewing notions
	St. Josephs 10cent aspirin			medicine
	yellow buckle			women's clothing
	fashionable buttons			sewing notions
	San Diego Gin and milling co pencil			writing
	wooden darning egg			sewing notions
6	Texas maid shortening 8lb cartons	TX veg oil co San Antonio		food
	curtains			decorative items

	San Antonio Express		1937	newspaper
	"Handy Ann" Pail box full of letters			writing
	Newspaper	"Renounce Mexico"	1928	newspaper
	Elizardo Serivando Garcia Birth Certificate Monterrey		1906	records
	Penny		1913	coins - US
	3 merry widows tin			household items
	Box	Agnes Mabel and Beckel		household items
	wooden box			household items
	wooden lamp			household items
	Pinocchio brush			children's items
	vase with parrots Mexico			travel - Mexico
3	small vases Japan			travel - Asia
	Pencil sharpener	Chicago	1921	writing
	light Bulb w Jesus depiction			religious items
	empty wallet			men's clothing
	Feather peacock curved frame			travel - Mexico
	Framed "if" poem by Kipling			decorative items
	4 paintings			decorative items
	rags			sewing notions
	baptismal certificate Eudoxio Garcia		1872	records
	Luxor powder in box			toiletries
	nut bowl			kitchen items
	nut cracker			kitchen items
	Bleach	Golden Peacock		household chemicals
	Zip cake			household chemicals
	shoes			men's clothing
	irons			sewing notions
	Texas Ranger		1958	newspaper
	Galveston Tribune		1945	newspaper
	New York Times		1944	newspaper
	mimeo 1/2 reams			writing
	Box Military			Military
	Galveston News		1945	newspaper
	box of ids Garcia (race white)			records
	racy picture			household items
	poker chip holders			household items
	poker chips			household items
	palms embroidered mats			household items
	teacups			kitchen items
	bone rings for crocheting			sewing notions
	Kodak Camera			photography
	green medicine bottle w stopper			medicine
	leather pouches			men's clothing
	pen nibs	Weldon Roberts		writing

	earrings			costume jewelry
	bag of shells coral nuts			natural materials
	City Market Calendar Mexican women		1958	calendar
	San Diego State bank		1942	calendar
	religious medals			religious items
	spade			gardening
	Furniture polish	Mirraglow		household chemicals
	3 empty cans			food
	art deco bottle			toiletries
	guadelupana Almanaque		1955	religious items
	mail		1938-43	writing
	glass tray			toiletries
	Sewing machine oil	Gulf		sewing notions
	flints	Bronson		smoking
	box of gift boxes			gift wrap
	red cedar shavings for kennel			pets
	wooden rolling pin red handles			kitchen items
	box of bottles			baby items
	cook book "500 snacks"			kitchen items
	mail		1945	writing
	Marines box			Military
	Shaving box			men's clothing
	curling iron			hair
	Coffee can	Admiration		food
	plastic ashtray			smoking
	Piano bench			music
	Dr. Pepper bottle Fort Worth TX			food
	box	Arrow Products		household items
	blue and white enamel pan			kitchen items
	Alice Daily echo		1968	newspaper
	mechanical drawing pages			Drafting
	San Antonio Light Newspaper		1968	newspaper
	Coke a cola Calendar		1955	calendar
	Alice Daily echo		1968	newspaper
	Christmas wreath			religious items
	Washing grains			household chemicals
	Rocket perfume			toiletries
	bottles			food
	Bancroft box			household items
	Nail polish	Cutex		toiletries
	nail polish	Revlon		toiletries
	Shave cream	Charles of the Ritz		toiletries
	Plastic shell compact			toiletries
	talk milk glass bottle			food
	cream	Lady Ester		toiletries

	Wooden box for soap	Yardley		household chemicals
	Curl lacquer	Nestlé		hair
	wooden scoop			kitchen items
	décor			decorative items
	hairclips			hair
	Aftershave	Hines		toiletries
	iodine			medicine
	Vaseline			toiletries
	Menthloatum			medicine
	Newspapers			newspaper
	baking mix	Bisquick		food
	Newspaper clipping	Dog pack murder probe		newspaper
	San Antonio Light Newspaper			newspaper
	Embroidered fabric			sewing notions
	Table reserve granulated sugar			food
	Lucite box with toiletry bottles			toiletries
	Styling pack	Avon		hair
	box loose powder w puff			toiletries
	lipstick, pink cheer	Everlast		toiletries
	green metal stool with rose applique			furniture
	mail		1927	writing
	Joskees Bro box			women's clothing
	mail		1950's	writing
	popular Mechanics Bungalow Plan			magazines
	Animal print book			children's items
	papers			music
	Sheet music "I'm an old cowhand"			music
	crayons			children's items
	pens			writing
	cowboy metal can "deluxe fruitcake"			food
	Home Economics notes		1949	school supplies
	box of oily rags			sewing notions
	glass eye			medicine
	dresser			furniture
	bed			furniture

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Vita

Eunice Carmela Garza grew up in San Diego, Texas, an eighth generation Texan. She was interested in historical archaeology at an early age, often digging up bottles and spent bullets at the Macario Garza ranch while learning about Texas History. She comes from a family of teachers from Duval County, including her late grandfather Gonzalo Garza Jr. who taught history in Duval for 37 years, her grandmother Aida Garza who taught second grade, her grandmother Carmen Calderon Garza who taught English as a second language in San Antonio and her mother María Carmela who currently teaches High School English and Spanish in San Diego. Eunice received both her Bachelors and Master's degrees at The University of Texas at Austin, and has also attended The University of Texas Pan American, Bee County College and San Antonio Community College. She lives in Austin, Texas with her son. Her scholarly interests include archaeology, food economies, ethnobotany, economic history, historic preservation, cultural landscapes, race, media, community engagement and Texas dancehalls.

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